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I.—THE CREATION OF THE TRIBE PTOLEMAIS AT ATHENS.¹

Neither the date of the establishment of the tribe Ptolemais at Athens nor the motive prompting its creation is recorded by any ancient historian. From other writers of antiquity very little evidence can be gleaned, and all of it is untrustworthy. The traveller Pausanias asserts that Ptolemaios Philadelphos was the eponymous hero of the tribe (I. 5, 5; 6, 8; 8, 6). This might lead us to infer that Ptolemais was created before his death in 247 B. C. Inscriptions prove, however, that there were only twelve prytanizing tribes at Athens during his lifetime, and since Athens was under Macedonian influence from 262 to 232, it is clear that Ptolemais was not created during the reign of Ptole-

¹ This study was undertaken while I was holding a research fellowship from the Carnegie Institution in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. I wish to express my obligations to those who made possible my work at Athens, as well as to Mr. Hill, the Director of the School, to Mr. Leonardos, then Ephor of the Epigraphical Section of the National Museum at Athens, who kindly gave me every opportunity for studying the inscriptions, and to Professor Capps, of Princeton, who has read the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions.

While I was correcting the proof of this article I received Kirchner's revised edition of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* Vol. II and III (IG. Vol. II and III, edit. min. pars I, fasc. 1). This edition with its large number of new readings, new inscriptions and vastly improved arrangement will so soon supersede the old volumes, that I have added references wherever possible in accord with the new numbering. I have denoted the new edition as K. and such a reference as K. 791 (II. 334) means number 791 in the new volume, or IG. II. 334 according to the older edition.

maios Philadelphos. One other reference to Ptolemais is found in an epigram of Kallimachos (Anth. Pal., VII. 520) who died about 240 B. C. The poet is alluding, however, to a tribe of that name known to exist in Alexandria (Westermann, *Βιογραφίαι*, p. 50; Beloch, *Die Errichtung der Phyle Ptolemais*, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb. f. cl. Phil.*, 1884, 481 ff.; Bates, *The Five Post-Kleisthenean Tribes*, *Cornell Studies VIII*, 1898, 29-30). Neither of these passages, therefore, can be used to prove the existence of Ptolemais at Athens before 232 B. C. Pausanias may be right in claiming that Ptolemaios Philadelphos was the eponymous hero, but it is certain that the new tribe was not created during his reign.

The only positive evidence as to the date of the establishment of Ptolemais has been stated by Beloch (loc. cit., cf. *Gr. Gesch.*, III. 2. 56-7) as follows: Since the deme Berenikidai was created along with the tribe Ptolemais, and since Berenike, in whose honor the deme was established, was the wife of Ptolemaios Euergetes (Stephanus, s. v. *Βερενικίδαι*), he was therefore the eponymous hero and the tribe must have been created during his reign (247-222). Beloch then observed that the thesmothetai in IG. II. 859 are recorded in the official order of the twelve tribes up to the archonship of Niketes; are disarranged in the year of Antiphilos (probably due to error of the mason), and in the archonship of Menekrates are in the official order of the thirteen tribes. Hence he argued that Ptolemais was established between the archonships of Niketes and Menekrates. Kirchner (*GGA*. 1900. 450) following the suggestion of Schebelew (quoted by Kirchner, loc. cit.) noted further that the archon Antiphilos was from the deme Aphidna (II. 859, l. 53), which was assigned to Ptolemais when the new tribe was formed. He was thus led to infer that Ptolemais was established in that year, and as a compliment to Ptolemy, the archonship was given to Ptolemais. This date (224/3) has been accepted universally (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 158; Maltezos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1907-8, pp. 295-6; Kolbe, *Die Attischen Archonten* 47, *Abhandl. d. königl. Gesells. d. Wissens. z. Göttingen X*, n. 4; cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 243-4).

This argument for the creation of Ptolemais is based on the evidence furnished by the lists of thesmothetai in IG. II. 859, and is valid only if Beloch's estimation of their value is sustained.

Let us examine these lists more closely. In the first place, Beloch himself noted the stonecutter's error in the list for the archonship of Antiphilos. There may be a second error in Menekrates' year, unless we assume that Anakaia was transferred in part to Demetrias, for which there is no other evidence (Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.* 1892, 550 ff.; Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 23). There is the possibility of still another error, i. e., the thesmothetes from Phlya in the archonship of Niketes may be misplaced. If we assume this provisionally, then the thesmothetai throughout the whole list in IG. II. 859 are arranged in the official order of the *thirteen* tribes, if we except the mistakes made by the stonecutter. In that case this inscription proves only that Ptolemais was in existence already in 229 B. C., while we are still no nearer a determination of the date of its creation. In view of the fact that there is certainly one stonecutter's error, probably two, and possibly three in IG. II. 859, the testimony of the lists of thesmothetai must be used with extreme caution, and it is clear that their evidence must no longer be regarded as decisive in establishing the date of the creation of Ptolemais.

Instead of assuming that Phlya is out of place in the list of thesmothetai under Niketes, it is quite possible that this was a divided deme, and that a part remained with its old tribe Kekropis. If IG. II. 859 can be used to prove that Anakaia was a member of two tribes (Kirchner, *loc. cit.*), the same argument may be used in regard to Phlya with equal cogency. Ptolemais was given twenty-four demes when the tribe was established, while Antigonis and Demetrias apparently did not have more than ten, possibly less. There is no plausible explanation of this, unless many of the demes assigned to Ptolemais were small or divided demes, but, as a matter of fact, we only know of one divided between the old and the new tribe (Bates, *op. cit.* 45). Many more may have been divided, at least for a time, but we are ignorant of the exact facts because the evidence is so meagre.

IG. II. 859 is the only document which gives any evidence about the position of Phlya for the remainder of the third century, after the creation of Ptolemais. No inscriptions exist in the second century before 129 B. C. which indicate in any way to which tribe it belonged. After 129 all the evidence tends to prove that Phlya was assigned to Ptolemais only (Bates, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6).

If the accepted interpretation of IG. II. 859 is questioned, it cannot be used as heretofore to determine the date of the creation of Ptolemais. All that can be determined from this inscription is that Ptolemais *may* have existed before the year 229/8. Other sources must be sought and investigated. One method of proof which has not hitherto been fully exploited remains. If we study the extant decrees belonging to the period between 233/2, when only twelve tribes existed [Archon Ther-silochos K. 778 (II. 308), 780 (II. 307), 781 (II. 5, 307b), and 220/19, when thirteen tribes shared the prytanies (cf. IG. II. 403), we may be able, by observing the relation of the prytany to the calendar month, to determine how many tribes were officiating in the government of that year. In this way we may be able to approximate more nearly the date of the establishment of the new tribe.

The inscriptions which concern us most in this study are as follows: K. 791 (IG. II. 334, Archon Diomedon, generally dated in 232/1); K. 783 (II. 5. 373 c, probably dated in the archonship of . . . βιος, and from the cycle assigned to 230/29); II. 384, II. 5. 385 b, 385 c (these three inscriptions are generally assigned to the same archon Heliodoros and dated in 229/8); II. 5. 381 b (Archon Theophilos and dated in 227/6); II. 381 (Archon Ergochares, 226/5).

K. 791 (II. 334) and IG. II. 381 have been discussed recently by Kirchner (*Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1910, p. 985 ff.), who regards them as examples of double dating. It is to be observed however that, when the double system is used, there is always a phrase, κατὰ θεόν, κατ' ἄρχοντα or ἡμερολογδόν indicating such a system, while these inscriptions lack any such formula. This in itself would make it extremely doubtful if the double system should be applied to them, and when we consider these decrees in detail we shall take up other objections.

The restoration of K. 791 (II. 334) is not difficult as it is written στοιχηδόν, and the maximum number of letters in a line is 48, though some (9, 12, 15, 19, 20, 22, 25) are shorter. In most cases this is due to leaving a blank space for punctuation (12, 15, 19, 20, 23, 25-?), but line 11 has only 47 letters, with no possibility of a space for punctuation, and line 12 has 46 letters, with one space only left for punctuation. It is clear, therefore,

that in making our restoration we must allow for lines of either 47 or 48 letters. The following restoration is proposed :

[ἐ]πὶ Διομέδοντος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [Δημητριάδος δεκάτης πρυτανείας ἢ Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένον Ἀ[. ἔγραμμά-]
[τε]υεν :¹ Ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἐνεὶ καὶ νέαι ἐμ[βολίμωι, εἰκοστῇ τ-]
[ῆς] πρυτανείας κτλ.

The restoration of the prytanizing tribe in the first line must be either Ἀντιγονίδος or Δημητριάδος as these tribal names alone suffered erasure. If Antigonis is the prytanizing tribe in the 6th prytany, as is restored in IG. II. 836, we must restore Δημητριάδος here. The word δεκάτης gives a line of 48 letters and is undoubtedly correct. ἐνάτης would give a line of 47 letters and affords insuperable difficulties in explaining the arrangement of the prytanies.

The restoration of line 2 must be left for discussion until after the restoration of lines 3 and 4 is discussed. The restoration of the day of the prytany in line 3 is dependent upon the length of the line. If this is a line of 48 letters we can restore δευτέρα, τετάρτη or εἰκοστῇ; if of 47 letters, πέμπτη, ἑβδόμη or δεκάτη. The ἐμβόλιμος day of Elaphebolion was the 266th day of the year. Kirchner (K. 791 or II. 334) restores δεκάτης in line 1 and δευτεραί in line 3. If this is an ordinary year which begins with a month of 29 days and if we give 29 days to the first six prytanies, and 30 to the remainder, then the second day of the tenth prytany falls on the thirtieth of Elaphebolion. There is however still another possibility. If we restore in line 3 [εἰκοστῇ τῇ]ς πρυτανείας, we get the following equation for the scheme of the prytanies in the time of the thirteen tribes when, in an ordinary year, there were thirteen prytanies of 27 days and the three extra days ($13 \times 27 + 3 = 354$ days) were divided up amongst the first three prytanies; 9×27 (days in regular prytany) + 3 (extra days added probably to first three prytanies) + 20 (20th day of 10th prytany) = 266th day of the year. This combination gives a simple and logical explanation of the prytany scheme. No other combination of the other restorations suggested is satisfactory. The solution which we have offered is simple enough, if the existence of the thirteen tribes is granted for that year. If we turn to the restoration of line 2, we shall see that we are forced to

¹One space was left vacant for punctuation after [ἔγραμμάτε]υεν.

assume that Ptolemais is in existence. Otherwise there is no possibility of placing this secretary in the established cycle.

In the second line the name of the deme begins with Λ as is published by Koehler in the IG. The reading Λ was suggested by Wilhelm,¹ (*Arch. Eph.*, 1892, p. 139, note). In the accompanying photograph (which is taken from a squeeze of the upper part of K. 791 (II. 334) the cross bar of the letter *alpha* may readily be seen. From an examination of the stone itself, it is quite clear that the line is not a flaw but the original chiseling of the stonecutter. Wilhelm offered this reading only as a possibility while studying some Euboean inscriptions where the name $\Phi\acute{o}\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ suggested the restoration [$\Phi\acute{o}\rho\upsilon$]σκος Λευκ. in a late Attic inscription (though [$\Lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}$]σκος is equally probable). From this he suggested the reading $\Phi\omicron\rho\upsilon\sigma\kappa\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$ Ἀριστομένον Λευκονοεύς in K. 791 (II. 334), but the chain of reasoning by which this result is obtained is not always clear or convincing, and his argument is not strengthened by an examination of the stone itself. Any restoration of this inscription must therefore be made on the basis of Koehler's reading. If we reconstruct line 2 with 48 letters we have the following possibilities: Ἀλιμούσιος (Leontis), Ἀμαξαντεύς or Ἀμυμωνεύς (Hippothontis) or, Ἀλωπεκῆθεν (Antiochis). If we allow however the possibility of this line being one letter short of the maximum, as we have shown to be occasionally the case, we must then consider the following possibilities: Ἀγκυλῆθεν, Ἀραφῆνιος (Aigeis), Ἀγγελῆθεν (Pandionis), Ἀγνούσιος (Akamantis), Ἀνακαϊεύς (Hippothontis), Ἀφιδναῖος (Aiantis, or Ptolemais), Αἰγυλιεύς (Antiochis or Ptolemais), Ἀγρυλῆθεν, Αἰθαλίδης (Antigonis). We shall see later that we must restore Ἀγνούσιος and assume that this line had only 47 letters.

If we turn now to the next datable inscription of this period we have undoubted evidence for the existence of thirteen prytanies. This is K. 783 (II. 5, 373c), which Ferguson has dated from the secretary-cycle in 230/29 (Priests of Asklepios, p. 134). Lines 1-4 are to be restored as follows:

[ἐπ. . . . βίου ἀρχ]οντος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰαντίδος δωδεκάτης πρυτανείας ἢ
[.....]νωνος Ἐπικηφίσιος ἐγραμμάτευεν. βουλῆς ψηφίσματα
[Θαργηλιῶ]νος ὀγδοεὶ μετ' εἰκάδας, τρίτει καὶ εἰκοστεί, τῆς πρυτανείας.

¹ Kirchner (GGA. 1900, 448) refers to Lolling, *Δελτ. ἀρχ.*, 1892, 48 for this reading.



K. 791 (II. 334).

The editors in the IG. have restored the month [Σκιροφοριῶ]νος in line 3. This makes the 23rd day of the 12th prytany fall on the 28th day of the 12th month, for which there is no parallel in the Attic inscriptions in any period. The restoration should be [Θαργηλιῶ]νος for, although the writing is not στοιχηδόν, yet the number of letters in the first three lines is nearly uniform if we make this restoration in line 3. The arrangement of the prytanies is thus simplified. The 28th of Thargelion is the 323rd day of the year. In an ordinary year of thirteen prytanies we get the following equation: $11 \times 27 + 3 + 23 = 323$. This inscription therefore gives clear proof that there were thirteen tribes in existence when it was passed. It is equally certain that this decree must be dated in the year 230/29. The other dates to which a secretary from Epikhephisia could be assigned in the time of the thirteen tribes are 217/6 and 204/3. In 217/6 Archelaos was archon, and in his archonship the month Anthesterion was intercalated (IG. II. 5. 385c); so this is excluded. In 204/3 Nikophon or Dionysios was archon and either name is too long to be restored in K. 783 (II. 5. 373c). Archelaos and Dionysios cannot be shifted;¹ so this inscription must be dated in 230/29. Ptolemais must, therefore, have been in existence before this decree was passed.

Our first real difficulty occurs when we come to consider the inscriptions grouped under Heliodoros and all dated by Ferguson and Kirchner in 229/8. Beloch dates these in 231/0 (Gr. Gesch., III. 2. 61). Kolbe (op. cit., p. 50 ff.) distinguishes two archons of this name and dates IG. II. 384, and II. 5. 385b in 229/8, and Heliodoros II (cf. IG. II. 5. 385c) in 217/6. Kirchner rejects this theory (BPW. 1909, p. 850), referring to his review of Ferguson's Athenian Archons in GGA. 1900, p. 452 for his reasons. Ferguson also refuses to accept Kolbe's theory (Hellenistic Athens, p. 209, n. 3). We must consider these inscriptions most carefully, for if they are dated in 229/8 they prove beyond a doubt that Ptolemais could not have existed in that year. This is clear not only from the arrangement of the prytany

¹ This is now perhaps open to question since Kirchner has placed Antimachos (K. 768, 769) in the first half of the century, leaving the years 209/8–207/6 unoccupied. I still think however that Nikophon and Dionysios must remain in the place to which they have been assigned. If so, K. 783 can not be placed in the year 204/3 because the name of the archon can not have more than 7 (or 8 if the name begins with a vowel) letters.

but also from the list of *prytaneis* in IG. II. 5. 385b. We thus have a most unusual state of affairs, and we are compelled to infer that Ptolemais was created only to be temporarily disbanded and later re-established, or else we must reconsider these documents and determine whether they have been correctly dated in 229/8 or not.

There is not the slightest doubt that IG. II. 384 and II. 5. 385b belong to the same archon and year. The former of these inscriptions is so broken that we can infer little from the context. It is certain, however, that βασιλεὺς 'A . . is referred to and apparently in some connection with the Aetolians. Since the name of the king has not been erased, all scholars have agreed in referring this to king Attalos and not Antigonos. The widespread belief that all records of the Macedonian kings or the royal tribes were erased is due to the statement of Livy (XXXI. 44; cf. Dion Chrys., 37. 41), that after the creation of Attalis all such records were excised, and that in other ways the Athenians indulged in their anger against Philip. But the statement of Livy is not borne out by the facts, as an examination of the decrees shows. The following decrees have the name of the king or the royal tribes erased: K. 665 (II. 316), 677 (II. 5. 371b), 681 (II. 324), 682 (II. 331), 766 (II. 338), 775 (II. add. 373b), 780 (II. 307), 781 (II. 5. 307b), 790, 791 (II. 334), 798 (II. 5. 373g), I. G. II. 5. 614b. The following inscriptions have the name of the royal tribes or king still remaining: K. 458 (II. add. 320b), 466 (II. 239), 469 (II. 266), 470 (II. 246; 253), 471 (II. 247), 477 (II. 238), 478 (II. 5. 251b), 480 (II. 5. 252d), 484 (II. 5. 256c), 486, 491 (II. 261), 492 (II. 5. 264c; II. 268), 495 (II. 263), 498 (II. 5. 264d), 507, 555 (II. 251), 558 (243), 559 (II. 419), 560 (II. 265), 561 (II. 267), 562, 563, 641 (II. 297), 646 (II. 300), 647, 653 (II. 311), 657 (II. 314; II. 5. 314), 658 (II. add. 314b), 660 (II. 5. 345c), 666 (II. 317), 679 (II. 322), 685 (II. 5. 331c), 743 (II. 352), 772 (II. add. 352b), 776 (II. 374), 777 (II. 306), 784, 797 (II. add. 252b). There are twelve inscriptions (including one doubtful case, K. 708) in which the names were excised, while in thirty-eight they were left undisturbed. Those in charge of the work of excision do not seem to have been guided by any particular rule. But in general those decrees containing lists of ephebes, and those recording sacrifices to the kings were defaced. The work of excising the names was confined almost without exception, however, to the Akropolis

and preferably to ephebic lists and those decrees recording sacrifices to the kings. We might therefore infer that the work was confined to certain precincts on the Akropolis where such inscriptions were set up, and that in other precincts the work was more perfunctorily done.

With these figures in view, we certainly cannot argue that βασιλέως 'A . . in II. 384 must refer to king Attalos. Further, if we date this inscription in 229/8, it is very doubtful if it can refer to Attalos, because it must still be proven that he had the royal title in that year. The balance of evidence is against it. According to Polybius (XVIII. 41. 7) he first declared himself king after his victory over the Galatians (cf. Livy, 33. 21; Strabo, XIII. 624). Polybius goes on to say: He lived 72 years of which he held the throne for 44 (τούτων δὲ βασιλεύσας κτλ.). Wilcken¹ uses this to prove that he took the title of king in 241 B. C., since he died in 197. This means therefore that he took the title of king in the first year of his command over Pergamon, and requires us to place the victory over the Gauls in the same year. Cardinali², however, (*Studi di Storia Antica* 5, II Regno di Pergamo, pages 17-48) discusses the whole question and identifies the Gallic war with the campaign against Antiochos Hierax in 230-28 as dated by Eusebius (Schöne, Eusebius, *Chronic.*, p. 253). According to the chronology of Eusebius, Antiochos and the Gauls were finally defeated in the first year of the 138th Olympiad or 228/7. In that case Attalos assumed the royal title after this date and IG. II. 384 cannot refer to him. βασιλέως 'A . . must therefore refer to king Antigonos and accordingly is not to be dated in 229/8, but must be placed in the period of Macedonian control (262-232). The reference to the Aetolians³ helps us to decide the date of the inscription which manifestly deals with the relations of Athens, Aetolia and Macedon after the battle of Chaeronea (245/4; cf. Kolbe, *Fest-*

¹ PW. s. v. Attalos.

² All the sources and the various interpretations of these sources are given by Wilcken and Cardinali. For more recent literature see Staehelin, *Geschichte der Kleinasiatischen Galater*, Leipzig, 1907, and Reinach, *Revue Celtique*, 30, pp. 47-72 (a review of Staehelin's work only, and does not add any new evidence).

³ This allusion to the Aetolians is another reason for not ascribing the decree to 229/8. It is unlikely that Attalos was concerned in Greek politics when he was engaged in a life and death struggle with Antiochos.

schrift für Hirschfeld, 315 ff.). From the tribe of the secretary we can date the decree exactly in the year 242/1.

IG. II. 5. 385b. certainly belongs to the same year as II. 384 as the restoration of the name of secretary from the former exactly fills the lacuna in the latter. Line 14 ff., τ[ὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐπ]ανορθώσαντες, has always been interpreted as pointing to the restoration of the democracy in 229 (Kirchner, GGA. 1900, 453). This restoration however is extremely doubtful as Köhler points out, and if correct it may only refer to the slight measure of liberty restored to the people in 256 (Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.*, p. 191). The servility which led the Athenians to offer sacrifices to Antigonos would not prevent them from characterizing the measure of liberty allowed in 256 as a "restoration of the democracy". Accordingly neither the historical nor the prosopographical evidence prevents the dating of this decree and the archon Heliodoros I. in 242/1.

It is clear that IG. II. 5. 385c cannot be dated as early as 242/1. The financial officer who paid for decrees from 262 to 232 was ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. This alone excludes II. 5. 385c from being dated in this period, for in the latter the combined board ὁ ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει pay the costs. The historical content is even more decisive against such an early date (Homolle, *BCH. XV.* 358). We are therefore compelled to accept Kolbe's theory of two archons named Heliodoros. The name of this archon is too short to be restored in the first line of IG. II. 859. There is no longer any necessity, therefore, for straining the interpretation of this decree in the effort to place it in 229/8 (cf. Kirchner, GGA. 1900, pp. 452-3), but we can follow the original dating of it by Homolle (*BCH. XV.* 358) in the years 219-7 (cf. Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 53 ff.). We shall see later good reasons for accepting Kolbe's date of this archon in 217/6.

Since the inscriptions of Heliodoros I are to be dated in 242/1, and therefore do not concern our study of the creation of Ptolemais, and since the prescript of IG. II. 5. 385c in the archonship of Heliodoros II proves nothing for or against the existence of thirteen tribes in that year, we can dismiss as unfounded what has hitherto been the greatest objection to any theory that Ptolemais was created when the Macedonian party was overthrown at Athens.

There is still one other inscription which has hitherto been considered as proof that Ptolemais was not in existence in the

year 227 B. C. This is IG. II. 5. 381b,¹ whose archon has always been identified with the archon Theophilos listed in IG. II. 859. The tribe of the secretary in 227/6 was Aiantis. From IG. II. 5. 381b we learn that the deme of the secretary began with *alpha* and, as the inscription is written *στοιχηδόν*, must contain ten letters. But Aiantis never had a deme which satisfies these two requirements, and in the time of the thirteen tribes had no deme beginning with *alpha*. The identity of these two archons can therefore no longer be maintained. The form of the letters in IG. II. 5. 381b leads us to believe that this inscription is not later than 250 B. C. The following restoration is offered:

[ἐπὶ] Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κεκροπιδ[ος τρίτης]
 [πρυτ]ανείας ἢ Φίλιππος Κηφισοδώρου Ἀ[.....]
 [ἐγγρα]μμάτευεν· Βοηδρομιῶνος ἔκτει μετ' [εἰκίδας τε-
 [τάρτ]ει καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας κτλ.

The only possibilities for the deme of the secretary are 'Αλιμούσιος (Leontis), 'Αμαξαντεύς (Hippothontis) or 'Αλωπεκῆθεν (Antiochis). There are no vacancies for secretaries from Leontis or Antiochis, except in years which are already occupied by other archons. Hence we may safely restore 'Αμαξαντεύς in this inscription and date Theophilos I from the cycle in the year 272/1.

¹ Professor Kirchner informs me that Roussel has published this inscription in the *Σέβια*, Athens, 1912, p. 85, reading 'Αφ in line 2. I examined this inscription in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens in the hope of finding the letters 'Αφ, for 'Αφιδναῖος was the only word which could be restored if Theophilos is assigned to a secretary from Aiantis, but I could not see that any letter followed the Alpha. If, however, Roussel is correct, this inscription must be placed ca. 270/0 and we shall have to believe with Pomtow that there is a disturbance in the tribal rotation of the secretaries in the years ca. 280-270 B. C. (BPW. 1910, p. 1096; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 164, note), or else we must assume that the deme Aphidna was divided and part still remained in the tribe Aiantis. Such an assumption is not unreasonable, for we observe that when Ptolemais was created the following demes were drawn from Aiantis for the new tribe: Aphidna, Oinoe (?), Perrhidai, Thyrgonidai, Titakidai, leaving only Kykala, Marathon, Phaleron (Psaphis), Rhamnous and Trikorynthos, a total of five (possibly six) demes in the tribe (Bates, *op. cit.* pp. 26-45). Such an arrangement is manifestly unfair to Aiantis, and we should naturally expect that some of the transfers were only parts of demes. If Roussel's reading is correct, I should take the evidence of this inscription as proof that Aphidna was divided and that the secretary in IG. II. 5. 381b is from that part of the deme which remained in Aiantis. The arrangement of the prytanies would show that the year 227/6 was intercalary.

The last inscription for discussion is IG. II. 381. This is dated in the year 226/5 B. C., and gives additional support to the theory that thirteen tribes were in existence when this decree was passed. This inscription is restored as follows:

[ἐπὶ] Ἐρ[γοχάρους ἀρχοντ]ος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντ[ί]
 δος τρι[της πρυτανείας] ἔ Ζωίλος Διφίλο[υ]
 Ἄλωπεκ[ῆθεν ἐγραμμάτ]ευεν Ὁ Μεταγειτνιῶ-
 νος ἐνάτ[η καὶ δεκάτῃ δ]ευτέρᾳ ἐμβολί-
 μῳ εἰκοσ[τῇ τῆς πρυτα]νείας κτλ.

Kirchner's explanation of this decree (*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1910, p. 983-4) can only be accepted, if we allow that this inscription is an example of double dating, although there is nothing to indicate that such is the case. Moreover, his very complicated solution of the arrangement of the prytanies seems to be entirely at variance with the usual simplicity of the Athenians in dating their decrees. There is a much simpler solution of the problem, if we assume that there were thirteen prytanies in the archonship of Ergochares. In that case we have the choice of two solutions of the problem. If Μεταγειτνιῶνος ἐνάτ[η καὶ δεκάτῃ δ]ευτέρᾳ ἐμβολίμῳ means the 19th of the intercalated month Metageitnion, as Kirchner explains it, then the 20th day of the third prytany could easily fall on the 19th day of the third month in an intercalary year with thirteen prytanies. There is a similar situation in 209/8 (Kern, *Inscriben von Magnesia*, No. 37), where the 7th day of the 5th prytany can only fall on the 6th day of Pyanopsion, if we suppose a month to have been intercalated earlier in the year. Then the 7th day of the 5th prytany falls on the 6th day of the 5th month. If, however, the date of IG. II. 381 is correctly interpreted by the editor of the IG., then this is the 20th day of Metageitnion and we must assume that Hekatombaion was the intercalated month. This is quite possible, for we know from IG. I. Suppl. 27b. 53, p. 59 (μὲνα δὲ ἐμβάλλεν Ἑκατομβαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἀρχοντα) that Hekatombaion was sometimes intercalated. In that case month and prytany exactly coincide.

It is not necessary to study those decrees which belong undoubtedly to the period of the 13 tribes. In all cases where the arrangement of the prytany is preserved, we find the same system as in K. 791 (II. 334), K. 783 (II. 5. 373c), and IG. II. 381. Those peculiarities found in the decrees of the archon Archelaos do not violate the rules of the thirteen prytany system, but will

be explained under that name in the discussion of the individual archons. If Professor Kirchner's system of prytanies of different lengths for IG. II. 381 is valid, then IG. II. 334 and II. 5. 373c will have to be provided for in some way which differs from this again. This, however, is most unlikely and we must conclude that the system of double dating cannot apply to decrees which do not have the phrase *κατ' ἄρχοντα, κατὰ θεόν* or *ἡμερολογδόν*.

We can no longer reasonably doubt the existence of thirteen tribes when these three decrees were passed. We must therefore push back the date of the creation of Ptolemais before the year 224/3 B. C., or else revise the dating of these decrees. The latter course is impossible in the case of K. 783 (IG. II. 5. 373c) and II. 381 if we are to place any value in the cycle of the secretaries or the list of archons in IG. II. 859. Since we confirm Koehler's reading of K. 791 (IG. II. 334), the date of this inscription must be considered anew.

Before the date of Diomedon is discussed, the data for determining Jason's archonship must be considered. This is established from the accounts of the life of Zeno and Kleantes (Philodemos, Vol. Hercul. VIII, col. 4; Index Stoicorum, coll. 28 and 29), which run as follows: ¹ 1. ἀπὸ Κλεάρχου γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρρηνείδην, ἐφ' οὗ σημειωθῆναι τετελευτηκέναι Ζήνωνα, ἔτη ἐστὶν ἑννέα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς. 2. γεγονέναι Κλεάνθην ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ τὴν σχολὴν διακατασχέιν ἐπ' ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἕν. 3. ἀπηλλάγη δ' ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Ἰάσονος ἐτῶν τὰ μάλιστα ῥ (for other allusions, see Ferguson, *Athenian Archons*, Cornell Studies X, p. 30).

The date of Klearchos is fixed in the year 301/0. Ferguson (Priests of Asklepios, 153-4) dates Arrheneides by the exclusive system of reckoning in 261/0, but places Jason by the inclusive system in 231/0. Kolbe dates Arrheneides by the inclusive method in 262/1, Jason by the exclusive reckoning in 231/0 (op. cit. 40-45, 66). It is clear that Philodemos is not using the double system of reckoning in the same passage, and neither of these scholars can be right in both cases. By the accepted dating of Diomedon in 232/1, however, they have been forced to date Jason in 231/0.

The inclusive system of reckoning is undoubtedly the correct one (cf. Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.* 53, p. 383, n. 1). By this system thirty-nine years and three months from Klearchos to Arrheneides bring us to the beginning of the fourth month in the year 262/1.

¹ I have not indicated the restorations. For these see Mayer, *Philologus*, 1912, pp. 226 ff.

That Antipatros and Arrheneides were archons in the same year, according to the theory of Kolbe, can no longer be doubted (Kolbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff.; Kirchner, *BPW.* 1909, 847; cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 182 note. Ferguson's objections to Kolbe's arguments are not valid so long as he himself dates Jason by inclusive reckoning in 231/0). If we calculate the date of Jason by the inclusive system of reckoning, then one hundred years from the archonship of Aristophanes (331/0) bring us to 232/1 and thirty-one years from the archonship of Arrheneides (262/1) bring us to the same year.¹ Similarly by inclusive reckoning Kallistratos is dated in the year 206/5 (Lakydes became head of the school in the fourth year of the 134th Olympiad and died 36 years later).

We may now turn to the problem of dating Diomedon. From the possibilities suggested above, when we discussed the restoration of K. 791 (IG. II. 334), the secretary must belong to one of the following tribes: Aiantis, Aigeis, Akamantis, Antigonis, Antiochis, Hippothontis, Leontis, Pandionis, or Ptolemais. The decree must be dated in the time of the twelve or of the thirteen tribes (306-201 B. C.) It cannot be later than 202/1, for the tribes Antigonis and Demetrias were abolished after that date.² The prosopographical evidence enables us to limit the document to the last half of the third century. We can infer from the fact that the powerful democratic leader Eurykleides of Kephisia was military steward, that the Macedonians exercised no control over the city or the elections. The inscription must therefore be later than 233/2 at least. The officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*³ who pays for the cost of the inscription did not exist between 218/7 and 202/1 (cf. IG. II. 5. 385c; Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, Nr. 37). Therefore Diomedon may be limited to the years 233/2-218/7. The year 229/8 is excluded because it requires a secretary from Kekropis. It is practically certain that the archon Kallaischros is to be placed in the year 220/19. We are therefore compelled to place Diomedon in 231/0. With this date the historical content of the decree agrees.⁴ Since the year is settled

¹ Mayer (*Philologus* LXXI, p. 237, note 60) in avoiding one horn of the dilemma by reading *τριάκοντα καὶ [τὸ]ν Διονύσιον τοῖνον* . . . in the Philodemos fragment quoted above, is forced upon the other in interpreting *μάλιστα* ῥ. Moreover, I doubt very much if he can find support for the collocation of particles *καὶ* . . . *τοῖνον* which he has proposed.

² PW. Vol. 1, 32. 38 ff.; Tod, *BSA.* 1902-3, 173 ff.

³ The history of this officer will be taken up in a later paper.

⁴ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 205.

we can now determine the tribe which held the secretaryship. In 231/0 the secretaryship was held by Akamantis, the 8th in the official order during the period of the thirteen tribes. The only deme in this tribe beginning with *alpha* is Ἀγνούσιος. We must therefore make this restoration in line 2 and assume that there were only 47 letters in the completed line.

We must, however, consider the other possibility, since Ferguson, Kirchner and Kolbe are all agreed on assigning Diomedon to a secretary from Leontis. This, however, is impossible, and apart from the restoration of the deme of the secretary in line 2, our clearest proof is found in K 780 (IG. II. 307). The formula for sacrifices in honor of king Antigonos contains only ca. 40 letters (K. 775 or IG. II. Add. 373b). The formula for king Demetrios is more elaborate and consists of 62 letters as we see from II. 5. 614b (cf. K. 790, 776 or IG. II. 374); καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας¹ καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν. It happens that this formula is just exactly the length desired to fill in the erased portion of K. 780 (IG. II. 307). Hence these inscriptions must be dated, not in the reign of Antigonos, but in that of Demetrios, or between 240 and 232. Since the secretary in the archonship of Thersilochos is from Leontis, we are compelled to assign this archon to the only Leontis which occurs in this period. Diomedon must therefore be given to Akamantis and Thersilochos must be dated in 233/2.

There is still another line of evidence which goes to support the theory that Ptolemais was in existence in 232/1. This is as follows: It is generally agreed that the secretary cycle was broken when Athens came again under the power of Macedon at the end of the Chremonidean war. With the Macedonian party in power, a new government was established with new officers. Kolbe's arguments dating the archons Antipatros and Arrheneides both in the year 262/1 are conclusive (op. cit., 40 ff.; Kirchner, BPW. 1909, 847). We know already that the priests of Asklepios were changed in 262/1, although both were chosen from the same tribe (Ferguson, Priests of Asklepios, p. 133). It is also clear that the archons were changed. The duties of the financial board οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει were handed over to the single officer ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. When the Macedonian party came into

¹ For this reading cf. Kolbe, Festschrift für Hirschfeld, p. 312 ff. The shorter formula for Antigonos may be explained if Queen Phila was no longer alive in 248 B. C. K. 775 should be restored [καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ].

power in the middle of the year 262/1, the cycle of the secretaries was broken, and the secretaryship for the balance of the year was given to Antigonis in honor of the Macedonian king. If we work downward therefore from 262/1,¹ we must place the tribe Leontis in the secretaryship in 233/2. Moreover if we work back from 221/0, when the cycle of the secretaries is fixed from the decree of Thrasyphon's year (IG. II. 403) and the double dating of a Magnesian inscription (Kern. *Insch. von Magnesia*, n. 16), we find that Akamantis held the secretaryship in 231/0. The gap between Leontis in 233/2 and Akamantis in 231/0 can only be bridged in one way—that is, by inserting the tribe Ptolemais in the cycle at this point, and that this is the true solution is proved by the fact that the official position of Ptolemais is between Leontis and Akamantis.

There can be no further doubt that Ptolemais was created about the end of the archonship of Thersilochos in 233/2, before the elections of the following year, and when the officers were chosen for 232/1, the new tribe Ptolemais was given the secretaryship. The tribal rotation was not broken as in 304/3 or 262/1, but the new tribe was given seventh place, since that year called for a secretary from the seventh tribe. This explains why Ptolemais is seventh in the official order. Under the old theory Ptolemais was created ca. 224 B. C. and not given a secretaryship until 219/8. This as well as the position in the cycle was inexplicable, especially when we consider the great friendship which the Athenians had for Ptolemy, and their method of honoring the recipients when the other tribes were created.

The history of Athens at the close of Macedonian rule may now be reconstructed with more exactness. Throughout the earlier part of Demetrios' reign, there was a strong Macedonian party in control of the government as is evidenced by the number of decrees recording sacrifices in his honor. This party was supported by the king's troops which garrisoned the forts of the harbors. Towards the end of Demetrios' reign the troubles along the northern border of his kingdom forced the withdrawal of all the troops possible from the Greek garrisons (Niese, *Gesch. d. Gr. u. Mak. Staaten*, II. 275 ff.). Relying on the strength of the party favorable to him in Athens, he withdrew the major part of his forces from Attica, probably at some time during the

¹ This date for the fall of Athens is attested by Lehmann-Haupt, BPW. 1906, 1265; cf. Kirchner, BPW. 1909, 849-850; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 306 ff., note 93.

archonship of Thersilochos. This gave Eurykleides and Mikion the chance they wanted. Sometime in the course of the year 233/2, they gathered the anti-Macedonian party together and obtained control of the city, although Diogenes still held the harbor forts with Macedonian troops (cf. Plutarch, Aratus 34). The exact date of this revolution cannot be determined, but if K. 780 (IG. II. 307) recorded sacrifices in honor of Demetrios in both decrees cut on this stone, then the democratic party was not in power until after Elaphebolion. But before the elections for the following year were held the tribe Ptolemais was created and, in those elections, was given the secretaryship. This was done either because of financial assistance from Egypt already received or else in the hope of receiving material support from Ptolemy. At any rate, friendship with Egypt was the leading feature of the foreign policy of Eurykleides and Mikion, and the creation of the new tribe was a strong bid for the support of the Egyptian king. Polybios charges them with attempting to win the favor of the Ptolemies by gross flattery, and, although he was prejudiced against Athens, there may be some truth in his claim (Polybios, V. 106, 6 ff.).

The independence of Athens and the alliance with Egypt were by no means pleasing to Aratos and were only signals for the renewal of his raids on Attic territory. Since the harbors were occupied by the Macedonians under Diogenes, the alliance with Ptolemy meant little more than financial support, and because of their newly declared independence, no help could be claimed from their former defenders. The situation in the city was more or less desperate, because food-supplies could not be brought in by sea, and their own crops could not be harvested with the enemy constantly raiding their fields. In 231/0 a call for contributions was issued for military defense until the grain could be brought in (K. 791 or II. 334). About twenty thousand drachmas must have been collected. It may be observed that none of the names preserved in the list of contributors were from the harbor demes excepting only Hierokles of Sunion. The famine must have continued into the following year, for the *silonai* were praised for the services which they rendered to the state (K. 792 or II. 335). But Attica could never yield enough grain to support her citizens even under the most favorable conditions, and relief came only on the death of Demetrios, when Diogenes agreed to hand over the harbor forts to the restored democracy (Plut.

Arat. 34; Paus. II. 8. 6; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 206). This must have occurred some time before Thargelion in 230/29, as K. 783 (IG. II. 5. 373c) was passed in an assembly held in the Peiraieus in that month. The thanksgiving sacrifices ordered in that decree undoubtedly celebrate the return of the harbors to the city's possession.

The establishment of Ptolemais was only one of the new government's policies. The old title *γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου* was revived to designate the chief secretary. New legislation was passed in regard to the rights of aliens to own land. The steward of the military funds became the chief financial officer, displacing the Minister of the Administration *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*. A catalogue of the dedications to Asklepios was made and apparently some change was made in the method of appointing the priests of the god, if it is true that hereafter the regular tribal cycle was abandoned, and the election made from the people at large without regard to tribal affiliations (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 205 note 3).

The establishment of the Ptolemaia at Athens followed the creation of the tribe. Since these games were celebrated in the first year of an Olympiad (Ferguson, *Klio*, VIII. 338 ff.) they may have been instituted first in 232/1. It is likely, however, that the authorities were more concerned with problems of defence and food-supplies than with the institution of new games. From IG. II. 379 we learn that, after Eurykleides held the post of treasurer of the military funds, he had his son appointed, and then he himself, as *agonothetes*, spent the enormous sum of seven talents in performing the games. Since he was military treasurer in 231/0 (K. 791 or IG. II. 334) he must have been *agonothetes* not earlier than 229/8. It is quite possible that he did not hold the office until 228/7, and the seven talents were expended in celebrating the first Ptolemaia at Athens. At this time all Attica was free and more able to take up the burden of such an expensive luxury.¹

It is certain that IG. II. 859 begins its record with the state officers appointed under the new democratic régime in 232/1. In this inscription there can no longer be any doubt that the *thesmothetai* are all recorded in the official order of the thirteen

¹ Probably the first definite reference to the Ptolemaia is found in a decree from Eleusis ('Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1897, p. 42), where Theophrastos as *agonothetes* in the archonship of Antiphilos seems to have cared for these games in a praiseworthy manner. But the reading is uncertain.

tribes (errors excepted). Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to determine whether Phlya was divided between Kekropis and Ptolemais. The entry under 228/7 may be another instance of the stonemason's carelessness.

The most important result following the insertion of the tribe Ptolemais in the official cycle in the year 232/1 is that the dates of those archons which fall between 261/0 and 232/1 must be shifted at least one year. In some cases greater changes are necessitated. For the sake of completeness a few notes are added on the group of archons from 276-262 and from 232-190 B. C.¹

Since Theophilos I. of IG. II. 5, 381b can no longer be identified with the archon of the same name in IG. II. 859, we have dated the former by the secretary-cycle in 272/1. Sosistratos (IG. II. 1295) can now be dated with reasonable certainty in the year 273/2, which is the only possible vacancy in the third century before 269/8, if Telokles and . . . *λαιος*² are correctly placed in 284/3 and 277/6. The prosopographical evidence demands as early a date as possible for Sosistratos, and there is no doubt that he must be placed before 269/8 (Ferguson, *Athenian Archons*, p. 37; Kirchner, *PA. s. Sosistratos*; Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 45).

The year 270/69 is occupied by the archon whose name stood in K. 702, 703. This name had 7 or 8 letters.

Philoneos (K 765, 766, IG. II. 337, 338) must be placed before the end of the Chremonidean war (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 155. Kolbe disagrees but his arguments are not convincing, *op. cit.*, p. 61). Hermodoros, the *παιδορρίβης*, acted in the same capacity in the archonship of Menekles (K 665 or II. 316, 283/2 B. C.). It is very unlikely that any ephebic decrees were passed between 262 and 256 (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, p. 156) and we can not reasonably expect that Hermodoros acted as *παιδορρίβης* from 283 until after 256. Between 270-262 the officer

¹ The evidence for the archons in the period here discussed is given in full in Ferguson, *Athenian Archons*, Cornell Studies, 1899, Vol. X; *The Priests of Asklepios*, Univ. of California Publications, 1907, pp. 131-173; Kirchner, *GGA*, 1900, pp. 400 ff.; BPW., 1906, pp. 980 ff., *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 844 ff.; Kolbe, *Die Attischen Archonten*, Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Band X, n. 4.

² These three archons may possibly be interchanged. The archons from the years ca. 280-270 may have to be changed if Pomtow succeeds in proving a disturbance in the cycle (BPW. 1910, p. 1096; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 164 note).

ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει paid the cost of decrees until the beginning of the Chremonidean war in 266/5, when the college οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει was established. If in K. 766 (IG. II. 338) we make the restorations in lines 13 and 14, preserving the στοιχηδόν arrangement in the missing portions as is the case in the other lines, we must read [τὸν] ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει (the στοιχηδόν arrangement is violated only at the beginning of these lines and not at the end—as we see by the restoration). K. 766 (IG. II. 338) was passed in the year following the archonship of Philoneos and must be prior to 266/5 because of the single officer ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει. Philoneos must therefore be placed in the year 269/8, which is the only vacancy available, for if he were dated in 267/6, we should have to place K. 766 (IG. II. 338) in the year 266/5 when the board οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει was in existence (K. 686). Since ἐπὶ Φιλόνεω may be restored in K. 702, 703 it is quite possible that Philoneos may be dated in the year 270/69. If we make this restoration in K. 702, 703, then the archon Φίλο[. . .] in K. 767 must not be identified with Philoneos as K. 767 cannot be restored from K. 703, if the reading in line 3 of K. 767 is correct.

Thymochares (K. 700 or IG. II. 371) may be identified with Θυμοχάρης Σφήττιος who was *agonothetes* in 276/5 (K. 682 or II. 331) and contributor to the military fund in 231/0 (K. 691 or II. 334). K. 700 (IG. II. 371)¹ was certainly passed in the time of the twelve tribes as the list of *proedroi* proves. If the identification proposed is correct, Thymochares belonged to the democratic party with anti-Macedonian tendencies. It is unlikely that he held the archonship during the Macedonian régime, and in that case he must be dated before the fall of Athens in 262/1. Since Hermodoros is παιδορρίβης in the archonship of Thymochares as well as in the year 282/1 (K. 665), we are justified in seeking as early a date as possible for this archon. It may be noted that the archon preceding him has ten letters in his name (K. 700 line 10). We must therefore date Thymochares in 267/6 after the archonship of Philokrates since this date alone fulfils all the conditions.

Glaukippos (K. 674, 675, 676) may be dated by the cycle in the years 277/6, 265/4, 258/7 or 246/5. The last two are excluded

¹ It should be noted that this is an ephebic decree and that no ephebic decrees are found from 262–240 during the reign of Antigonos. The system seems to have been in abeyance during that period. If so there is no other possible date for Thymochares.

because the officer $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ is in control from 262/1-232/1, while in the archonship of Glaukippos the board $\sigma \iota \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ paid for the decree (K. 674, 676). Of the other two dates, the former is now excluded by our dating Sosistratos in 272/1 which prevents the shifting of Telokles or $\lambda \alpha \iota \sigma$ from 277/6. Moreover the prosopographical evidence favors the latest date possible (Ferguson, *Ath. Arch.*, p. 34; Kolbe, *op. cit.*, p. 58). The close relationship between K. 674, 676 (IG. II. 305) and K. 689 (II. 325) shows that they are contemporary or very nearly so. Since the latter must be placed in the time of the Chremonidean war, Glaukippos must be dated in 265/4.

K. 689 (IG. II. 325) allows several restorations, for the name of the archon, which ends in -ides,¹ has ten letters and the following archons of the 3d century have the requisite number: 'Αριστειδης, 'Αρρηνειδης, Φιλιππίδης and Λουσιθειδης. Of these the first is rejected, because in his archonship a dedication was made in honor of the priest of Herakles (IG. II. 1166). This priest appears to be identical with the priest of Zeus Soter (IG. II. 616) and as in K. 689 (IG. II. 325) the cult of Zeus Soter was most important, there could hardly be a dedication of the priest in his minor aspect without making any reference to his other more important duties. 'Αρρηνειδης is also impossible, for in his archonship the officer $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ existed, while in K. 689 (II. 325) the expenses are defrayed by $\sigma \iota \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$. The decree in the archonship of Arrheneides (Diog. Laert., VII. 9) was passed on the 22d of Maimakterion and it is certain that the officer $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ was created before this date and continued to exist until the archonship of Diomedon (K. 791 or IG. II. 334). If we restore K. 689 (IG. II. 325), the following combinations of month and prytany are possible: Anthesterion 20th, Elaphebolion 10th or 11th, Mounychion 11th or 12th. It is impossible therefore that the officer $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ should have been created at the beginning of Arrheneides' archonship, changed to $\sigma \iota \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ in one of the later months and then changed again to the single officer $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omega \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ who is found from 256-231. There is absolutely no warrant for such a history of the board from our knowledge of the politics of Athens at this time.

¹ The reading Iota on the stone is certain. The inscription is $\sigma \tau \omicron \iota \chi \eta \delta \acute{\omicron} \nu$ and the hasta of the Iota is directly over the centre of the Epsilon in the line below. There is moreover no trace of any cross-bar, so that all possibility of a reading -HΔO- is excluded.

Of the other two possibilities Philippides is the better, since Lysitheides is probably to be dated in the latter part of the century (IG. II. 620, II. 5. 620b). The *orgeones* of Bendis, who set up the inscription in the archonship of Lysitheides (II. 620), were most active after the Chremonidean war (Wilhelm, Oesterr. Jahreshelte, 1902, pp. 127 ff.; Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 220). Philippides is known only from a dedicatory inscription set up by the *Hieropoioi* of Artemis in his archonship (IG. II. 1333). From the character of the writing he is assigned to the third century. This name may very well be restored in IG. II. 325, but names in -ides are so common that it is possible that some other name is to be assigned to this decree. This inscription is limited by the board *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* to the years 294/3—276/5 or 266/5—262/1. The only vacancy in these years is 263/2.

The archons Antipatros and Arrheneides are both to be assigned to the year 262/1 as Kolbe has already shown (op. cit., 40 ff.; Kirchner, BPW. 1909, 847). It is to be noted that in replacing the officers under the new régime, the cycle of the secretaries alone was broken. The priest of Asklepios was re-elected from the same tribe. Thus the priest's cycle remained one year behind that of the secretaries. This method avoided giving one tribe two of the most important offices in any one year. This system of tribal rotation in choosing the priest was kept up until at least 253/2 (Ferguson, Priests of Asklepios, 133), but seems to have been abandoned by 215/4 (loc. cit., p. 134). There is no evidence to determine when this method of election was abandoned. In the archonship of Diomedon (IG. II. 836) there was apparently an auditing of the treasures and the inventory was recorded on stone. This would be the logical year for assigning any reform to the system, but it is not clear why a regular system of election should be abandoned for an irregular one.

If we should assume that the deme Phlya was not transferred in its entirety to Ptolemais at its establishment, it is equally possible that Oinoe was not transferred from Hippothontis. There are only two inscriptions which prove that a deme Oinoe belonged to Ptolemais (II. 956. 469), and there is no reason why this should not be a part of the Oinoe which once belonged to Aiantis. In that case the regular system of tribal rotation may have been followed as late as 201/0 in appointing the priest of Asklepios.

The establishment of Ptolemais in 232/1 and its insertion in the cycle at this point, affects the dating of all the archons between 262/1 and 232/1. These will now be discussed in detail.

Although it is probable that very few decrees were passed during the five years which followed the end of the Chremonidean war (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 183, 191), yet it is evident that the popular assemblies were not entirely suspended. Besides the decree conferring funeral honors on Zeno, which seems to have been passed at the request of the king (Diog. Laert. VII. 6), there are a few other decrees belonging to this period whose general subject matter is unknown, or else deal only with matters of routine. Kirchner (K. 765-769) apparently assigns the archons Philoneos, Philostratos, Antimachos and Phanostratos to this period. The date of Philoneos has already been discussed. It seems to me that the prosopographical evidence is entirely against any date after the close of the Chremonidean war for this archon. There are no ephebic decrees which can be dated with certainty during the reign of Antigonos, and it seems unlikely that this democratic institution should have been allowed during the years 262-256. This archon therefore may safely be excluded from consideration. There is less doubt about the other names. Kirchner has clearly proved that Antimachos cannot belong to the time of the thirteen tribes (cf. K. 768, 769 and notes), and from the tribe of the secretary this archon must be placed in the year 258/7. As a corollary to this, Philostratos and Phanostratos (Πρακτικά, 1891, p. 16) must be dated in the years 260/59 and 259/8 respectively.

In one of the new inscriptions published by Kirchner there is very strong support for the change in the tribal rotation of the secretaries necessitated by the insertion of Ptolemais in the cycle in 232/1 B. C. This is K. 704. There is no doubt that this inscription belongs to the time of the twelve tribes as the arrangement of the prytanies shows. The formula *τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν* does not occur in the latter half of the third century (cf. Kirchner *ad* K. 768). The secretary recorded in this decree is from the tribe Leontis, and according to the previous cycles there was no vacancy for this tribe in the third century, since those years to which a secretary from Leontis was assigned were already occupied by archons whose names could not be restored

in K. 704. In the cycle as we have reconstructed it, this inscription must be dated in the year 256/5.¹

Diogeiton (K. 771, 772 or II. 352b, Add. Nov.) must be placed in the year 253/2 from the cycle, since the other possibility (241/0) is now filled by Athenodoros.

Olbios (K. 773 or II. 5. 345b, IG. II. 602) is dated from the cycle in 252/1.

In K. 774 (II. 5. 371c) the deme of the secretary must be restored as *El[reaĩor]*. The other possibility *El[ρεισίδης]* is inadmissible since there is no vacancy for the tribe Antigonis in the third century within the limits imposed by the context of the decree. (Kirchner, BPW. 1906, 990 ff.). This deme belongs to Antiochis and the decree is dated in the year 251/0 from the cycle (Ferguson, Priests of Asklepios, 133).

Pheidostratos (IG. II. 1199) is to be restored with considerable probability in K. 734 (II. 280)² which is restored as follows:

[ἐπὶ Φειδοστράτου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Κε]κροπίδος
[τρίτης πρυτανείας ἢ Κηφι]σοδώρου Ἰκ-
[αριεὺς ἐγραμμάτευν· Βοηδρομιῶνος] ἐβδόμῃ ἐπ-
[ὶ δέκα, ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανε]ίας· ἐκκλησι-
[α κυρία· κτλ.]

¹ The date of the archon Theophemos (K. 795 or II. 373) is problematical. The following restoration is suggested for K. 795:

ἐπὶ Θεοφήμενον ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ [τῆς τετάρτης]
πρυτανείας ἢ Προκλήης Ἀπ [. ἐγραμ-]
[μά]τευν· Πυανοψιῶνος ἐκ[τεὶ ἐπὶ δέκα· τετάρτει καὶ]
[δεκ]άτει τῆς πρυτανε[ίας]

Pyanopsion is the fourth month, so we may restore *τετάρτης* for the prytany. By restoring Aigeis or Oineis as the name of the prytanizing tribe, the shortest length of line is 41 letters. The same length may be secured in line 3 by restoring the 16th of the month and the 14th of the prytany (Schmidt, *Handbuch der Griechischen Chronologie*, 771; table c). This is found on trial to be the only possible length, or combination. The restoration of line 2 is offered only as a suggestion. From Kirchner's *Pros. Att.* under Ἀπ. we find the following which fill out line 2: Ἀπολλόδαμος Φλυνεὺς, Ἀπολλωνίδης Πυθεὺς or Ὑβάδης, Ἀπολλώνιος Ἑρμείος or Κριωνεὺς or Οἰναῖος. Of these only the first two need be considered as, in the other cases, the demes are from tribes for which there is no vacancy in the secretary cycle. The first two belong to the same tribe—Kekropis—for which the only vacancy in the tribal cycle is 254/3. But this restoration and dating is offered only as a suggestion, and by no means as a probability.

² The editor of this inscription in the IG. is incorrect when he states that it is broken on both sides. The right edge is intact. We can therefore determine absolutely the number of letters in the archon's name when once we determine the length of the line.

The deme of the secretary in line 2 is certainly 'Ικαριεύς, for clear traces of the Kappa at the end of the line are still to be seen on the stone. The name of the month in line 3 can only be determined in conjunction with the restoration of line 4. The day of the month is certainly ἐβδόμη ἐπὶ δέκα or the 17th. If we assume provisionally that this is an ordinary year, the day of the prytany must lie between the 14th and the 29th (Schmidt, *Handbuch der Griechischen Chronologie*, 771 ff.). The restoration of εἰκοστὴ is impossible because it gives too short a line, for if we restore line 3 with the name of the month containing fewest letters, we have a minimum length of 37 letters. Of the other prytany days the 16th gives the shortest length for line 4, that is, 39 letters. Line 4 can be restored with the same length by reading ἐκτεὶ καὶ δεκάτει. The name of the archon in line 1 must therefore have at least twelve letters. This is unusually long, but if we attempt any other restorations we find that line 3 may have 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41 letters. But no possible combination in line 4 between prytany day and the day of the month admits a line of less than 39 letters. This holds good for intercalary years as well. Those restorations giving a line of 40 or 41 letters may be discarded because they require an archon's name of 13 or 14 letters. Such names are unknown. Those of 12 letters are extremely rare, but there is one name only of the archons assigned to the third century which is of the required length. This is Pheidostratos who is dated approximately ca. 250 (Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.* 53, 388). Since Ikaria belongs to the tribe Antigonis, and the only vacancy for this tribe in the cycle is 250/49, there is little doubt of the correctness of this restoration.

The archon Lysiades (K. 775 or II. 373b, Add. Nov.) is dated from the cycle for the priests of Asklepios (Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, 140). There is an erasure in this decree which cut out the allusion to the sacrifices in honor of one of the kings of Macedon. We know that the formula decreeing sacrifices in honor of Demetrios consists of 60 letters (IG. II. 5. 614b, K. 780 (II. 307), K. 776 (374), K. 790 (Klio, VIII. 487)). The erasure in IG. II. 373b (Nov. Add.) contained at most 38 letters and can only refer to Antigonos. It must therefore be dated before 239 B. C. (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 198, and note 4). Since the priest of Asklepios is from Xypete the date of the first decree can be determined from the cycle in 248/9.

The decree passed in the archonship of Lysiades which is cut on the same stone was proposed by the same author. It is not likely that two decrees were passed in the same year in honor of the same man. But the second must not be many years later. The only possible dates are 247/6, 244/3 or 243/2. The first of these is preferable since the last two should probably be occupied by Lykeas and Polystratos.

The archon Hagnias is recorded in K. 794 (II. 372). This inscription is written *στοιχηδόν* and is therefore not later than the third century. The following restoration is proposed:

ἐπὶ Ἀγνίου ἀρχο[ντος ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης πρυτανείας
ἢ Ποτάμων Δόν[ακος Μυρρινούσιος ἐγραμμάτευσεν]
Βοηδρομιῶνος τετράδι[ι μετ' εἰκάδας ἔκτει καὶ εἰκοστεί]
τῆς πρυτανείας βουλῇ ἐν[.]

The shortest possible restoration in line 3 is [ἔκτει καὶ εἰκοστεί] as the day of the prytany. This gives a minimum length of 45 letters. By restoring *τρίτει*, *πέμπτει* or *τετάρτει*, we have a line of 46, 47 or 48 letters. But from line 1 we learn that the maximum length is 46. We may therefore have lines of 45 or 46 letters. The deme of the secretary must have therefore twelve or thirteen letters. There are only four possibilities; *Μυρρινούσιος* (Pandionis), *Ἀμαξαντιεύς* (Hippothontis), *Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν* (Antiochis) or *Κυδαθηναίεύς* (Antigonis). For the last three tribes there is no vacancy in the cycle, and a secretary from Pandionis must be dated 246/5. The year 246/5 is thus the only possible date for Hagnias.

The archons Kleomachos (K. 770 or II. 336), Kallimedes (K. 777 or II. 306, K. 780 or II. 307) and Thersilochos K. 778 or II. 308, K. 780 or II. 307, K. 781 or II. 5. 307b, K. 782 or II. 5. 307c) form a group which must be studied together, since Theokritos was general in the archonship of all three (Kirchner, AM. 1907, 470 ff.). The possible dates from the cycle are 257, 247 and 245 or 245, 235 and 233. From K. 778 (II. 308) we learn that in the archonship of Thersilochos, the Athenians and Boeotians accept the city Lamia—a dependency of Macedon—as arbitrator in a dispute between the two states. This could not have happened in 245/4 for in that year the Boeotians were in alliance with the Achaean League and hostile to Athens and Macedon. After the battle of Chaeronea in 245/4, they deserted the league and became friendly to the Macedonian party (Niese, Gesch. d. gr. u. maced. Staaten, II. 250). K. 778 (II. 308) must consequently

date later than 245/4, and Thersilochos is therefore assigned to 233/2, Kallimedes to 235/4 and Kleomachos to 245/4. With these dates all our evidence agrees. The erased portion of K. 780 (II. 307) is exactly filled by the formula for sacrifice in honor of King Demetrios (239-229 B. C.) found in IG. II. 5. 614b, while that in honor of Antigonos is at least 22 letters shorter (cf. K. 775 or IG. II. 373b, Nov. Add. See under archon Lysiades). This is decisive proof that Thersilochos must be dated after the accession of Demetrios.

The general Theokritos is son of the *πάρεδρος*, Ἀλκίμαχος Κλεοβούλου Μυρρινούσιος, who held office in 282/1 (K. 668 or IG. II. 5. 318b), and the later date for his command as *στρατηγός* accords better with the period 245-33 than 257-43.

Polystratos (Oesterr. Jahreshfte, V. 128) requires as late a date as possible because of the form *γίνεσθαι* which occurs in the inscription from his archonship. The earliest datable example of this form is in 238/7 or slightly later (IG. II. 5. 614b), though it is possible that IG. II. 5. 591b may be dated before the death of Antigonos in 241 B. C. Polystratos cannot be placed later than 243/2 as there is no vacancy, and there can be little doubt that he is to be placed in this or in the year immediately preceding.

There is no evidence at hand for the date of Lykeas. Wilhelm (Oesterr. Jahreshfte V. 136) says that he is probably to be closely associated with Polystratos.

Heliodoros I. (IG. II. 384, II. 5. 385b) has already been discussed and dated in the year 242/1 from the allusion to King Antigonos and the Aetolians in IG. II. 384, and with the aid of the cycle.

Athenodoros (K. 784, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1911. 222 ff.) is dated by Oikonomos in the year 240/39 by the prosopographical evidence combined with the cycle. In the revised scheme, this archon will be dated in the year 241/0.

In lines 10-11 of K. 798 (IG. II. 5. 373g) we can restore either ἐπὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου or ἐπὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου. The latter restoration however is excluded because of the unfriendly relations between the Athenians and Aetolians which existed from 238/7 onward through the reign of Demetrios (Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 200 ff.) while this decree implies close friendship. It must therefore be dated between 241/0 and 238/7. The shortest possible restoration (ἐπὶ Ἀνσίου) in line 1 of K. 798 gives a minimum of 52 letters, although Kirchner estimates the average length at ca. 42. If we

date this decree in the archonship of Lysias, we must conclude that Athens and Aetolia were still on friendly footing in the month Gamelion in Lysias' archonship. This however is improbable (cf. IG. II. 5. 614b) and we may have to assign this decree to the archonship of Athenodoros or Charikles. The restoration ἐπὶ Χαρίκλειους is better because it gives a shorter line, and the arrangement of the prytanies seems to require that this document be dated in an intercalary year. The year 242/1 suits the historical content of the document (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 196, note). Further allusion to the friendly relations between Athens and Aetolia is found in IG. II. 384 (242/1).

Charikles (K. 785, 'Αρχ. 'Εφ., 1901. 52) is dated by the secretary cycle in 240/39. Lysias and Kimon (IG. II. 5. 614b) must be dated in the two years immediately preceding the secretary from Hippotomadai (K. 787 or IG. II. 330) who held office in 237/6 (Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 62 ff.).

Ekphantos and Lysanias (K. 788, *Oesterr. Jahresh.* V. 136; K. 790, *Klio*. VIII. 487) can be placed in 237/6 and 236/5 respectively from the tribes of their secretaries (K. 787 or IG. II. 330; K. 790, *Klio*. VIII. 487). The formula for sacrifice in the archonship of Lysanias is of the same length as that in IG. II. 5. 614b which should be restored in the erased portion of the Lysanias decree. The formula for sacrifices in honor of Antigonos requires only 38 spaces (K. 775 or IG. II. 373b) and cannot be restored here. These archons must therefore be dated in the reign of Demetrios or between 240/39 and 232/1. (Kolbe dates these archons in 248/7 and 247/6 (*op. cit.*, p. 56), but the latter year is occupied by Lysiades. Our restoration of the erased lines decides the question in favor of the dates proposed by Ferguson, *Priests of Asklepios*, 133).

Alkibiades (K. 776 or IG. II. 374) is also to be dated in the reign of Demetrios because lines 8 and 9 can be restored¹ exactly from IG. II. 5. 614b as follows:

[καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης
Φθίας καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτῶν] ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱέρει-
[α κτλ. . .]

¹ For another restoration cf. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos*, 229, 60. This would require the date of this inscription to be placed before 248 B. C. (cf. list of archons at the end of this paper) and the formula for sacrifice to Antigonos as we learn from K. 775 was considerably shorter than this. The shorter formula may be due to the fact that the queen Phila was not alive at this time.

This inscription must be placed between 240/39 and 232/1. Since there is only one vacant year in this period, 234/3, Alkibiades must be dated in that year. The prosopographical evidence is entirely in accord with this date (Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, s. v. *Λυσιστράτη* and *Ἀρχέστρατος*). It is to be noted that all through the reign of Demetrios sacrifices were offered for him. This shows that there must have been a strong pro-Macedonian party at Athens controlling the assemblies. Relying on the strength and faithfulness of this party Demetrios did not hesitate to weaken his garrisons in Attica when the troubles at home began to demand all his available troops for the defense of the northern boundaries.

The dates of Jason and Diomedon have already been established in the years 232/1 and 231/0 respectively.

K. 783 (II. 5. 373c) has been placed in the year 230/29 by the cycle. The archon's name must have seven or eight letters. K. 792 (II. 335) is dated in this period because of the probable identity of *Ἐπίωτος Μελιτεύς*, the grain commissioner, with the contributor to the defence fund in 232/1 (K. 791 or II. 334). There is therefore little doubt that these two decrees are contemporary. The year 229/8 is not open to the archon . . . βιος because this name is too short to be restored in IG. II. 859, line 1. These *silonai* were probably appointed to deal with the grain famine which the city must have suffered since Diogenes was still in command of the harbors (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 206).

Since . . . (?) βιος fills the lacuna in line 1 of K. 783 (II. 5. 373c), there can be no doubt that this is the correct restoration. K. 792 (IG. II. 335) was passed in the same or the following year. This inscription is important in the history of the financial boards at Athens because it proves that after the single officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* disappeared (IG. II. 334) the treasurer of the military funds alone paid the cost of the decrees. Later on he was associated with the plural board appointed in charge of the administration (*ὁ ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*, IG. II. 5. 385c).

The restoration of IG. II. 859, line 1, is again an open question. Certainly *Ἡλιόδωρος* is no longer entitled to consideration for this place, and since his name is one letter too short, we should restore some word of ten letters. The most likely claimant is *Lysitheides* (IG. II. 620, II. 5. 620b). Köhler has dated

this archon in the latter part of the century from the character of the writing (cf. Wilhelm, *Oesterr. Jahreshfte*, 1902, 130, note 1). Since IG. II. 620b is written *στοιχηδόν* and IG. II. 620 is nearly so, we can date these decrees before the end of the third century. Examples of *στοιχηδόν* writing are rare after 230, although one is found as late as 205/4 B. C. (IG. II. 5. 385f.). The only vacancy for Lysitheides between 244 and 209 is in 229/8, and since his name exactly fills the lacuna in II, 859, line 1, it is probable that he should be dated in that year. In that case we can no longer identify him with *Λυσιθείδης Σφήττιος* who is contributor to the war chest in 232/1 (K. 791 or IG. II. 334). These inscriptions if dated in 229/8 indicate a revival of the activities of the *orgeones* in the Peiraieus after the town and harbor were once more united under the democracy.

The group of archons from 228/7-221/0 is firmly established by the evidence of IG. II. 859, and the identification of the year of the archon Thrasyphon with the fourth year of the 139th Olympiad (Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, 16). The correctness of Kirchner's restoration [*Θρασυφ*]ῶν *Ἀλωπεκῆθεν* in line 15 of IG. II. 859 is beyond dispute (GGA. 1900. 448).

The archons from 220/19-217/6 inclusive form a group by themselves. In this case there is no help from IG. II. 859. Chairephon is fixed in the year 219/8 by the fact that the Greater Eleusinia were celebrated in his archonship (IG. II. 5. 619b, Kolbe, *op. cit.*, 69 ff.). There are three candidates for the other years: Kallaischros, Heliodoros II. and Archelaos. Of these we know that Archelaos follows Heliodoros (IG. II. 5. 385c).

Kallaischros is known only from an inscription found at Eleusis (*'Αρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1897, p. 42 ff.). This decree states that Theophrastos was gymnasiarch in the archonship of Antiphilos (224/3), hipparch in the archonship of Menekrates (222/1) and, after service as steward (*ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* probably), was elected general at Eleusis in the archonship of Kallaischros. The earliest possible date for this archon is therefore 220/19. Heliodoros can not be placed earlier than 219/8. Since Archelaos follows Heliodoros immediately, these two archons are grouped together after 219/8. Kallaischros must therefore be dated in the year 220/19.

Heliodoros II. can be dated only by the historical context of IG. II. 5. 385c, since the identification with Heliodoros of IG. II.

384, II. 5, 385b is no longer possible. There is no good reason for disputing Homolle's approximate dating (BCH. XV., 1891, 385 ff., Kolbe, op. cit., 52-5). Cardinali's objections (*Rivista di storia antica*, N. S. 9, 81 ff.) are based on the theory that this Heliodoros must antedate the creation of Ptolemais. But there is nothing to prove that IG. II. 5. 385c was not passed when there were thirteen tribes, since the identification with IG. II. 5. 385b is no longer valid. From IG. II. 5. 385c it is easily seen that Archelaos follows Heliodoros at a very short interval. We can date both archons in the years 218/7 and 217/6 respectively. Otherwise Archelaos must be dated in 212/1. But an interval of five years is too long. These two archons therefore remain in the years assigned.

Archelaos of IG. II. 5. 385c is not the archon of the same name in IG. II. 431. This identification has been the cause of much tribulation to the interpreters of these decrees. There are three reasons to be urged against this identity. In the latter inscription the cost of the document is paid by $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ while we know that from the archonship of Heliodoros in 218/7 (IG. II. 5. 385c) until the archonship of Philostratos (Kern, *In-schriften von Magnesia*, 37) this was defrayed by $\delta \tau \alpha \mu \iota \alpha \varsigma \tau \omega \nu \sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \iota \sigma \iota \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$. Secondly the accepted date of IG. II. 431 in 212/1 is impossible because the meeting of the assembly in that decree was held in the Eleusinion, and this only took place in a year when the Eleusinia were performed (Andocides, *De Mysteriis*, c. III.) or in the second year of each Olympiad (Kolbe, op. cit., p. 70). Hence IG. II. 431 cannot be dated in 212/1 or in 217/6. (This does not invalidate our argument as to the date of Hagnias, for the restoration $\epsilon \nu [\tau \tilde{\omega} \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \upsilon \sigma \iota \nu \iota \alpha]$ in that decree is purely conjectural). Lastly, the prytany scheme of these two inscriptions is an impossible problem if the two archons are considered identical. From IG. II. 5. 385c we learn that the month Anthesterion was intercalated. With thirteen prytanizing tribes we should have prytanies corresponding to the months. But in IG. II. 431 there are two decrees recorded—both passed in the month Boedromion, but in different prytanies. This state of affairs is explained by assuming that they began the year as an ordinary year with prytanies of 27 days each, but some time after Boedromion they changed their plan and inserted an extra month. This was done in 307/6 but it was justified then—and in fact practically necessary—to avoid

having the remaining prytanies of too short a length (Kirchner, *Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. Pr. Ak. d. Wissens.*, 1910, p. 982). There is no such excuse, however, for the year 212/1 if these decrees are dated in that year. Let us reconsider the restoration of the scheme of the prytanies in the two decrees found in IG. II. 431. The following reading is offered for the first:

Βοηδρο-

[μ]ῶ[νος ἐνεὶ καὶ νέαι, τετάρτει καὶ εἰ]κο[στεί τῆς π]ρυτανεί-
[ας] κτλ.

and similarly in the second:¹

Βο-

[η]δρομῶνος [ἐμβολίμου ἐνδεκάτει, τρίτ]ει τῆς πρυτανείας

Although the writing is not *στοιχηδόν* the average length of each line in both decrees is 47 letters. The restorations proposed at least have the merit of giving a uniform line. Such a combination of month and prytany is possible only in an intercalary year with twelve prytanies (cf. Schmidt, *Handbuch der Griechischen Chronologie*, p. 775, Tafel b). According to this restoration we must date IG. II. 431 in the time of the twelve tribes and after 201/0 as is proved by the identity of Lanomos with Lanomos of Berenikidai (Wilhelm, *UDA.* 214). Since the officer *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει* was in existence from 201 until 190 B. C. this inscription must be dated in this period and, from the cycle, the date of Archelaos II can be established precisely in the year 191/0. It may be noted that this is the second year of an Olympiad and the Assembly could therefore be held in the Eleusinion.

This date for IG. II. 431 removes the prosopographical difficulties as well as the most curious irregularities in the calendar which were involved in the original dating. There is no possibility of dating the second decree in IG. II. 5. 385c as late as 191/0 and there is no reasonable objection against dating it in 217/6.

Pantiades (Croenert, Kolotes und Menedemos, 77, col. XXVII. 4; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 1910. 406), Diokles, Euphiletos and Herakleitos are placed in the years 216/5-213/2.

It is probable that we should assign to the archonship of Herakleitos the two inscriptions K. 796. 797 (IG. II. 5. 252c, II. add. 252b) as the name of this archon can be restored in each. This

¹ This restoration accords very well with the traces of letters still appearing on the stone. (See facsimile published in the IG.)

is the only year between 307-202 B. C. which is open to a secretary from Antiochis, and the only year with an archon whose name can be restored in these inscriptions. The restoration of K. 797 as given by Kirchner is incorrect, as there is no example of the form *ἐγραμμάτευε* known in prescripts after 290 B. C. Lines 2-6 should be restored as follows :

[ἐφ' Ἡρακλείτου ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Δημητριάδος πρώτης]
 [πρυτανείας ᾗ]ος Λύκου Ἀλωπεκῆθ[εν ἐγραμμά-]
 [τευεν· Ἐκατομβαιωνος ἐν]ει καὶ νέαι, τριακοσ[τεῖ τῆς πρ]
 [υτανείας κτλ.

The arrangement of the prytanies shows that the year of Heraikleitos is intercalary, and in the time of the thirteen tribes in such a case month and prytany correspond closely.

As a result of dating Archelaos I in 217/6 and Archelaos II in 191/0, the year 212/1 is once more unoccupied. The most probable candidate for this is Philinos (IG. II. 5. 619c, Add.). In his archonship Σωσικράτης Μιλτιάδου Σφήττιος was elected *ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* and was praised by the citizens of Eleusis for the way in which he performed his duties. Troops were stationed at Eleusis from 225 B. C. until about the end of the century (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 249 and note 2, 251 and note 1). The possible dates for Philinos are 212/1, 210/9, 208/7-206/5, 204/3 or 203/2. A definite choice is not possible with our present evidence, but since most of the decrees from Eleusis honoring Athenian officials belong to the period before 208, it is probable that Philinos should be assigned to one of the earlier years. Kolbe has restored Isokrates provisionally in IG. II. 385 which was passed in the year 210/9 (op. cit., p. 73). If this restoration be accepted, then Philinos must be dated in the year 212/1.

We must assign to the year 209/8 the Attic decree found at Magnesia (Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 37). The arrangement of the prytanies shows that it is to be dated in the time of the thirteen tribes, for the 7th day of the 5th prytany can only fall on the 6th day of Pyanopsion if we suppose a month to have been intercalated earlier in the year. Then the 7th day of the 5th prytany falls on the 6th day of the 5th month. This is of course only possible when there are thirteen tribes. Since the same ambassadors mentioned in this decree go also to the court of Philip V. of Macedon (Kern, op. cit., No. 47), this inscription

must be dated after his accession in 221. The only place for a secretary from the deme Erchia (Aigeis) is in 209/8. The name of the archon had 11 or 12 letters

Nikophon and Dionysios (IG. II. 401, II. 5. 623b, 1161b) hold the archonship in successive years as is evident from IG. II. 5. 623b. The prosopographical evidence shows that they should be dated not long before Phanarchides (Kirchner, GGA. 1900, 455). The only possibilities are 208-6 or 205-3. The historical evidence favors the year 205/4-203/2 (Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 256, note). We should probably restore ἐπὶ Νικοφῶντος in IG. II. 5. 385 f.¹ This inscription is dated in the period when there were thirteen tribes as is shown by the arrangement of the prytanies. The deme of the secretary is either Κε[φαλῆθεν] or Κε[ιριάδης]. The latter belongs to Hippothontis for which the only possibility is 202/1. The archon for this year is Phanarchides, and while his name may be restored in the first line, yet this restoration must be avoided because there were probably only eleven tribes in 202/1 (Von Schoeffer, *PW*. V. 32, 38 ff.; Tod, *BSA*. 1902-3, 173 ff.; Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 268-9). We must therefore restore Κε[φαλῆθεν]. The decree may then be dated in 231/0, 218/7, or 205/4. The first two of these are occupied by archons whose names cannot be restored in this decree, which must accordingly be placed in the year 205/4. The restoration ἐπὶ Νικοφῶντος fills the lacuna exactly in line 1, and although Nikophon may be a year later, there is much more in favor of the earlier date (Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 256, note 3). Dionysios is dated in the year immediately following Nikophon (IG. II. 5. 623b).

Phanarchides (IG. II. 5. 385c) is dated by Ferguson provisionally in the year 202/1. He held office in the third year of an Olympiad (Homolle, *BCH*. 1891, 363). The possible dates according to Kolbe are 202/1, 198/7, 194/3. In the archonship of Phanarchides ὁ ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν defrays the expense while in the following year ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει reappears (IG. II. 392). The latter office existed until 190/89, and it is practically certain that it came into existence again with the reforms following the abolition of Antigonis and Demetrias and the establishment of Attalis. Nor can we place Phanarchides in 198/7, because Proxenides was archon in 197/6, and we know from IG

¹ This is the latest example of στοιχηδόν writing in Attica.

II. 392 that the secretary in the year following Phanarchides was Prokles, while the secretary in Proxenides' year is Euboulos (IG. II. 391). Phanarchides cannot be dated in 193/2 partly because IG. II. 390 is dated in this year, and also because $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ pays for the decree in 193/2. There is no other alternative than to place Phanarchides in 202/1.

The archon succeeding Phanarchides (IG. II. 392) had probably at least 10 letters in his name, and at the most not more than 13 (cf. lines 10 and 16). The name to be restored is plainly one of those not long before 202/1. It is futile to conjecture, since we cannot determine the length of the name accurately and do not know the name of the archon immediately preceding Phanarchides. Kolbe's restoration of Philon is impossible, because it is based upon the length of line in the upper decree on this stone where the spacing is much wider (op. cit., 90. 92). It is tempting to restore $\epsilon \pi \iota \Delta \iota \omicron \nu \nu \sigma \tau \omicron \upsilon$ which fills the space and is a very common name.

Proxenides (IG. II. 391. 393, Wilhelm, UDA. 213 ff.) is assigned to 197/6 because the office of $\delta \epsilon \pi \iota \tau \eta \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota$ existed in the second century only in the years 201-190. By restoring the deme of the secretary as [Κόπρειος], which exactly fills the space (cf. Kirchner, Pros. Att., s. v. Εὐβουλος), we must date Proxenides by the secretary cycle in 197/6.

For convenience of reference a table is appended giving the dates of the archons between 273/2 and 191/0 in accordance with the results of this study. When a name is printed in italics, the exact date of that archon cannot be determined with the evidence at present at our command.

Year B. C.	Archon.	Deme of Secretary.	Tribe of Secretary.	
273/2	<i>Sosistratos</i>	.....	Kekropis	IX
272/1	.....	.....	Hippothontis	X
271/0	Pytharatos	.....	Aiantis	XI
270/69	(K. 702, 703)	Alopeke	Antiochis	XII
269/8	<i>Philoneos</i>	.....	Antigonis	I
268/7	Philokrates	Melite	Demetrias	II
267/6	Thymochares	.....	Erechtheis	III
266/5	Peithidemos	.....	Aigeis	IV
265/4	Glaukippos	Myrrhinous	Pandionis	V
264/3	Diognetos	.....	Leontis	VI
263/2	..... <i>ίδης</i>	.....	Akamantis	VII
262/1	Antipatros	.....	Oineis	VIII
	Arrheneides	.....	Antigonis	I

Year B. C.	Archon.	Deme of Secretary.	Tribe of Secretary.
261/0	.....	.....	Demetrias II
260/59	Philostratos	.....	Erechtheis III
259/8	Phanostratos	.....	Aigeis IV
258/7	Antimachos	Myrrhinous	Pandionis V
257/6	(K. 704)	Sounion	Leontis VI
256/5	.....	.....	Akamantis VII
255/4	.....	.....	Oineis VIII
254/3	<i>Theophemos</i>	.....	Kekropis IX
253/2	Diogeiton	Keiriadai	Hippothontis X
252/1	Olbios	Rhamnous	Aiantis XI
251/0	K. 774 (II. 5. 371c)	Eitea	Antiochis XII
250/49	Pheidostratos	Ikaria	Antigonis I
249/8	.....	.....	Demetrias II
248/7	.....	.....	Erechtheis III
247/6	Lysiades	.....	Aigeis IV
246/5	Hagnias	Myrrhinous	Pandionis V
245/4	Kleomachos	Kettos	Leontis VI
244/3	<i>Lykeas</i>	.....	Akamantis VII
243/2	<i>Polystratos</i>	.....	Oineis VIII
242/1	Heliodoros I	Athmonon	Kekropis IX
241/0	Athenodoros	Hamaxanteia	Hippothontis X
240/9	Charikles	Rhamnous	Aiantis XI
239/8	Lysias	.....	Antiochis XII
238/7	Kimon	.....	Antigonis I
237/6	Ekphantos	Hippotomadai	Demetrias II
236/5	Lysanias	Euonymon	Erechtheis III
235/4	Kallimedes	Plotheia	Aigeis IV
234/3	Alkibiades	.....	Pandionis V
233/2	Thersilochos	Phrearrhoi	Leontis VI
232/1	Jason	.....	Ptolemais VII
231/0	Diomedon	Hagnous	Akamantis VIII
230/9	... βιος	Epikēphisia	Oineis IX
229/8	<i>Lysitheides</i>	.....	Kekropis X
228/7	Leochares	.....	Hippothontis XI
227/6	Theophilos	Aphidna	Aiantis XII
226/5	Ergochares	Alopeke	Antiochis XIII
225/4	Niketes	.....	Antigonis I
224/3	Antiphilos	.....	Demetrias II
223/2	Kalli...	.....	Erechtheis III
222/1	Menekrates	.....	Aigeis IV
221/0	Thrasyphon	Paiania	Pandionis V
220/9	Kallaischros	.....	Leontis VI
219/8	Chairephon	.....	Ptolemais VII
218/7	Heliodoros II	.....	Akamantis VIII
217/6	Archelaos I	.....	Oineis IX
216/5	Pantiades	.....	Kekropis X

Year B. C.	Archon.	Deme of Secretary.	Tribe of Secretary.
215/4	Diokles	Keiriadai	Hippothontis XI
214/3	Euphiletos	.....	Aiantis XII
213/2	Herakleitos	Alopeke	Antiochis XIII
212/1	<i>Philinos</i>	.....	Antigonis I
211/0	Aischron	.....	Demetrias II
210/9	<i>Isokrates</i>	Lamptraí	Erechtheis III
209/8	.....	Erchia	Aigeis IV
208/7	.....	.....	Pandionis V
207/6	.....	.....	Leontis VI
206/5	Kallistratos	.....	Ptolemais VII
205/4	Nikophon	Kephale	Akamantis VIII
204/3	<i>Dionysios</i>	.....	Oineis IX
203/2	.....	.....	Kekropis X
202/1	Phanarchides	.....	Hippothontis XI
201/0	.....	.....	Ptolemais V
200/199	.....	.....	Akamantis VI
199/8	.....	.....	Oineis VII
198/7	.....	.....	Kekropis VIII
197/6	Proxenides	Kopros	Hippothontis IX
196/5	.....	.....	Aiantis X
195/4	.....	.....	Antiochis XI
194/3	.....	.....	Attalis XII
193/2	(IG. II. 390)	Kedoi	Erechtheis I
192/1	.....	.....	Aigeis II
191/0	Archelaos II	Kydathenaion	Pandionis III

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

PRINCETON.

ADDENDUM.

Professor Kirchner's letter concerning Roussel's reading for IG. II. 5. 381b reached me too late to make all the necessary changes in the text of this article. If we accept the new reading, it is much better to date this inscription in 227/6 B. C. and assume that the deme Aphidna was divided between Aiantis and Ptolemais (cf. note 1, p. 391). Since the year 272/1 is thus left open, it is possible to assign to it either Telokles, Sosistratos, Philoneos or . . . *λαιος*. It is also possible to restore *Ἀμαξανρεῖος* in line 2 of K. 794 (II. 372), p. 406 and to date this inscription either in 273/2 or 272/1 B. C. Since Koehler and Kirchner both place this archon in the second half of the century from the form of the letters in the inscription, the date to which I have assigned it is preferable.

II.—NEVE AND NEQUE WITH THE IMPERATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXIV 275.]

B. IMPERFECT.

The use of *neve* or *neque* with an imperf. subj. is very rare. According to Bennett, Synt. Early Lat. I, p. 196, the use of a negative connective with the optative subj. is lacking in Early Latin. On p. 177 he cites Plaut. Trin. 133 and Lucil. 498 (652 *Mx.*) as examples of "the subjunctive of unfulfilled past obligation" (the former passage is cited by Blase, p. 152 as a "Jussiv der Vergangenheit"). Cf. p. 259, D. No examples are found in later Latin, except in Sall. Jug. 14. 24 *utinam esset neu viderer* and Cic. Flacc. 76 *utinam neque ipsum neque me paeniteret*. Note Quint. 1. 2. 6 *utinam non perderemus*, omitted by Blase, p. 155. For the use of the imperf. subj. jussive in *Orat. Obliq.* cf. p. 267. Note Livy 21. 41. 13 *utinam pro decore et non pro salute esset*, and for the use of *ac non* cf. p. 259.

C. PERFECT.¹

The perf. subj. with the connectives *neque* and *neve* was not used so often (91) as the pres. subj. (378) or the imperative (183). These three forms of expression are alike in three respects: all saw their most extensive use in the Classical period, all are found most frequently in poetry, and with all *neque* (*nec*) is more common than *neve* (*neu*). The greatest contrast in usage is furnished by the imperative, which jumps from 7 occurrences in Early Latin to 133 in Class. Latin, and the pres. subj. from 29 to 202, while the gap is not so great with the perf. subj., from 7 to 40. The rarest of all in prose is the imperative, being found only 4 times, to 179 in poetry. The perf. subj., on the other hand, was found 38 times in prose, 53 in poetry. *Neve* (*neu*) was found in prose but once, after *ne*, in Cic., but in

¹ For the "literature" on the perf. subj. cf. p. 1, note 255, and add: Giles, Cambr. Phil. Soc., 1901, p. 12 f., Kühner, Ausführl. Gram., II², p. 189.

poetry 7 times (after *ne*, once, Plaut., after period, Pac., Sil. (3), with particle repeated, Prop., Stat.). *Neque* was not used after *ne* (only *nec*); only once (Quint.) after a period (*nec* 30 times); after an indic. once, Plaut. (*nec* 6 times). In poetry only *nec* was used after an imperative and after *ne*. Cf. pp. 271, 274.

a) AFTER AN IMPERATIVE = 15.

To introduce a new sentence in prose, *neve* (*neu*) was not used at all, but *neque* (*nec*) four times (Sall., Cic., Sen., Fronto). In poetry, however, the usage is more common, particularly with *neque* (*nec*), which was used 9 times (Plaut. (2), Verg., Ovid (2), Val. Fl. (2), Mart. (2), to *neu* twice (Sil.)).

1) EARLY LATIN = 2, both in poetry. Plaut. Rud. 1028 uses *nec*, Trin. 627 *neque*.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 5 (prose = 2). *Neque*: Sall. Iug. 85. 47, Cic. Att. 10. 18. 2; *nec*: Verg. E. 8. 102, Ovid Her. 20. 15, and Fast. 1. 680.

3) SILVER LATIN = 8 (prose = 2).

a) *Neu* = 2: Sil. 3. 571; 9. 212 (in Stat. Theb. 9. 216 Hosius reads *ne*).

b) *Nec* = 6: Sen. Dial. 6. 5, 3, Val. Fl. 5. 339, Mart. 6. 64. 27; 14. 218. Fronto, p. 252 (N.) Note the use of the imper. in *-to* and the perf. subj. side by side in Val. Fl. 1. 176 *parato nec credideris*. Cf. pp. 263, c. and 271, 3, b.

b) AFTER A SUBJUNCTIVE = 6.

This usage is found only with *neque* (*nec*) and only twice in prose (Cic., Livy). Cf. *et ne* p. 256. Enn. 509 (B.) *nemo decoret nec faxit*; Cic. Phil. 7. 26 (3d S.), 2 pfs.; with pres. and pf. Verg. A. 10. 32 (*neque*), Ovid A. A. 1. 733, Tr. 4. 9. 25, Livy 22. 3. 10. Cf. Cato Agr. 113. 2 *ne . . et ne*. *Non . . nec* was used by Sen. and Mart. Cf. p. 259.

c) AFTER A PERIOD = 35.

In prose, *neve* (*neu*) was not used at all, *neque* only once (Quint.) and *nec* 14 times; in poetry, *neve* = 0, *neu* = 2, *neque* = 0, *nec* = 18. The preference for *neque* (*nec*), 33, over *neve* (*neu*), 2, is to be noted. *Neve* (*neu*) was only used by Pac. and Sil., but *neque* (*nec*) by Cic. (5), Livy (3), Sen. Phil., Curt.,

Plin. Mai., Quint., Tac. (2), Plin. Min.; in poetry, by Verg., Pan. Mess., Ovid (11), Luc., Calp., Val. Fl., Stat. and Mart. This usage is most common in Ovid.

1) EARLY LATIN = 1 (neu). Pac. 200 Neu sireis. (After a semi-colon: Ter. And. 392; an interrogation point, Plaut. Curc. 27; a gap Lucil. 1007 (Mx.)). Cf. p. 271, line 2 f.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 18, only *nec* used. Prose: Cic. Att. 2. 23. 3; 13. 22. 5; 15. 27. 3, Fin. 1. 25, Brut. 298, all 2d pers. (5). Poetry = 13: Verg. G. 3. 404, (Tib. 3. 7. 7) Pan. Mess., and 11 in Ovid: 2. pers. = 9, and all *nec credideris* (exc. Met. 13. 869, Fast. 6. 807): Her. 20. 151; 21. 189, Met. 12. 455, Tr. 5. 14. 43, Pont. 1. 8. 29; 4. 9. 101; [10. 21]; 3. pers. = 2: Her. 16. 187, A. A. 2. 105. It is to be noted that in all of these passages *nec* is used before a consonant, and hence *neu* could have been equally well used, as far as the metre is concerned. Cf. p. 266. Note also *nil credideris*; Met. 13. 825; *nec* after a semicolon, Cic. Fam. 1. 9. 19, Att. 15. 27. 3; after a question, Prop. 2. 20. 33, Ovid Her. 4. 129. Cf. 1, *supra*.

3) SILVER LATIN = 16 (neu = 1, nec = 14, neque = 1).

a) *Neu* = 1: Sil. Ital. 12. 502 Neu tardarit.

b) *Neque* = 1: Quint. 1. 4. 13.

c) *nec* = 14, prose: Livy 9. 9. 9; 21. 43. 11; 23. 3. 3. Sen. Ep. 15. 7, Curt. 5. 18. 13, Plin. Mai. 10. 136, Tac. Hist. 2. 47; 2. 76, Plin. Min. 8. 24. 5 (= 9); poetry = 5: Luc. 9. 1026, Calp. 1. 17, Val. Fl. 7. 229, Stat. Ach. 1. 917, Mart. 5. 6. 16 Nec perrexeris sed teneto. Cf. p. 419, a, 3, b.

Note the perf. subj. with *nullum* Livy 2. 12. 11, *nihil* Sen. N. Q. 6. 32. 6, Apul. Phil. 73. 16, *numquam* Sen. Ep. 98. 1, *neminem* Sen. Ben. 3. 28. 3, *nemo* Quint. 12. 10. 20, and *nulli* . . . *nec* in Mart. 7. 5. 5. Note the use of *nec* with pf. subj. after a semicolon in Val. Fl. 1. 175, in parenthesis in Livy 5. 53. 3 (cf. Verg., p. 270, b), of *numquam* . . . *nec* Val. Fl. 7. 94 (Luc. 8. 451 has *ne* in latest text).

d) AFTER AN INDICATIVE = 6 (nec = 5), prose = 3.

This usage is found three times in prose (Cic., Sen. (2)), and Plautus was the only writer to use *neque* (Capt. 149): Cic. Acad. 2. 141, Verg. G. 3. 393, Sen. Ep. 15. 7; 25. 2, Juv. 14. 48 (Pan. Mess. (Tib.) 3. 7. 7 (H.)). Cf. 2, *supra*, line 9.

- e) NEVE (neu) . . NEVE (neu) = 2, NEQUE (nec) . . NEQUE (nec) = 20.

The former expression was not used in prose, but the latter 10 times (Cic. (3), Livy (2), Sen. (4) Suet. (1),); in poetry, the former by Prop. and Stat., the latter by Enn., Tib., Ovid (4), Luc., Stat., Mart., Cato. In no case is *neve* used, *neu* (4), but *neque* 10 times and *nec* 31.

- 1) EARLY LATIN = 1: Enn. Ann. 143 (B.) *nec* . . *nec*.

- 2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 9 (prose = 3).

- a) *neu* . . *neu* = 1: Prop. 1. 10. 23.

- b) *neque* . . *neque* = 2 (Cic. Rab. 34, Sulla 25), *neque* . . *nec* = 1 (Cic. Rep. 6. 25), but *nec* . . *nec* = 5 (Tib. 2. 2. 13, Ovid A. A. 3. 683, Am. 2. 2. 25, Her. 8. 23, A. A. 2. 391).

- 3) SILVER LATIN = 12 (prose = 7).

- a) *Neu* . . *neve* = 1: Stat. Theb. 9. 889 *decipito*; *neu* . . . *neve* *veneris*. Cf. p. 420, 3, c.

- b) *neque* . . *neque* = 2: (Livy 29. 18. 9 Suet. Cal. 55. 1.); *neque* . . *nec* = 1 (Lucan. 1. 53); *nec* . . *nec* = 6 (Livy 24. 43. 8, Sen. Ben. 6. 35. 1, Epist. 96. 2; 104. 12; Stat. Theb. 4. 844, Mart. 1. 92. 13); *nec* . . *nec* . . *nec* = 1 (Sen. N. Q. 6. 32. 6, 3 pfs.); *nec* . . *nec*, with pres. and pf. subj. = 1 (Cato Dist. 2. 16). Cf. Apul. 111. 11 *non . . ac nec monstremus nec norimus*.

- f) NE . . NEVE (neu) = 2, NE . . *neque* (nec) = 3.

From the formal point of view, *neve* was used once, *neu* once; *neque* not at all, *nec* 3 times. *Ne* . . *neve* (neu) was used by Cic. and by Plaut., *ne* . . *nec* by Sen., Hor. and Luc.

- a) *Ne* . . *neve* (neu) = 2: Plaut. Merc. 401 *ne duas neu dixeris*, and by Cic. Acad. 2. 125 (*neve*) two pfs.; *ne* . . *nec* by Hor. C. 1. 11. 1, Sen. Ep. 123. 11 with two pfs., and Luc. 7. 591 *ne rue nec admoveris*. Cf. p. 423.

- g) NEQUE ENIM = 2.

This usage is exceedingly rare, its very existence in fact being disputed (cf. A. J. P. XXII, p. 90). With the perfect subj. it is found only twice, Ps. Quint. Dec. 22. 3 with *negaveris* and 50. 15 with *spectaveris* (Hor. Sat. 1. 4. 40 and Ovid Met. 13. 291 hardly belong here). For its use with a pres. subj. cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 43, with *sinant*. Cf. p. 271.

h) ET NE, AC NE, NON . . NEC.

The pf. subj. with *et ne* was used by Cato and Apul., with *ac ne* by Cic., with *non . . nec* by Sen. Phil., Pers. and Mart. Cf. p. 256 f.

The following table will show the kind of connective that was used and the number of times (doubled connectives, *neque enim* and the use after *ne* are omitted):

PERFECT.

Periods.	Prose.				Poetry.				Total
	neve	neu	neque	nec	neve	neu	neque	nec	
Early Latin.	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	5
Classical Latin.	0	0	2	7	0	0	1	19	29
Silver Latin.	0	0	1	14	0	3	0	10	28
Total.	0	0	3	21	0	4	3	31	62

NOTES.

1) *Neve* (neu) was not used at all in prose except after *ne* (Cic.), but *neque* (nec) 24 times. In poetry only the form *neu* was used (4), but *neque* (nec) 34 times.

2) *Neque* (nec) was used more often than *neve* (neu) in every period. Note the classical usage with *neque* (nec) 29 to *neve* (neu) 0, and Silver Latin with 25 to 3. In the three periods *neque* (nec) was used 58 times, but *neve* (neu) only 4 times. For a similar condition of affairs with the imperative cf. p. 265, and with the pres. subj. cf. p. 275. See Conclusion, p. 267.

3) The preference for the form *nec* over *neque* in every period except the first, and the exclusion of the form *neque* from Silver Latin poetry is noteworthy.

4) After *ne* a perf. was used with these connectives only 5 times, but the pres. 32 times. The use of *neve* (neu) has the sanction of Cicero and Plautus, the use of *nec* (*neque* = 0) that of Sen. Phil., Horace, and probably Lucan (7. 591: *neu* = *v. l.*). In the Horatian passage, c. 1. 11. 1 *nec* was used before a consonant, and hence *neu* was metrically possible. Cf. p. 266.

PLUPERFECT = 11.

Neve (neu) as a connective with the plpf. subj. was used only twice, in poetry, and in Early Latin (Enn., Ter.). On the con-

trary, *nec* (*neque* not used) was used 9 times (Cic. (2), Sen. Phil., Catull., Ovid (3), Tib., Phaedr.), and with two exceptions (Ovid Her. 7. 140, Tib. 1. 10. 11) was always introduced by *utinam*. For a similar preference for *neque* (*nec*) with the imperative and subj., pres. and pf., see above, pp. 265, 275 and 422. This use of the plpf. subj. begins with Enn. Sc. 248 (205. B.) with *ne . . neve*, and in Ter. Phorm. 157 with *ne . . neu*. After Terence only *nec* was used: Cic. Off. 2. 3, Att. 3. 8. 4, Sen. Ep. 19. 5, Ovid Her. 7. 140 *vellem, vetuisset nec fuisset*; 10. 99 *utinam . . nec . . nec . . nec*; Met. 13. 44 *utinam . . aut . . nec umquam*; Tib. 1. 10. 11 *foret nec nossem nec audissem*, Phaedr. 4. 7. 6. u. *nec . . nec*, Catull. 64. 171 u. *ne . . nec . . nec* (cf. f. *supra*). Note: Cic. Att. 2. 1. 3 *perspicies aut ne poposcisses*, Att. 11. 9. 3 *utinam non . . aut ne*, and Quint. 10. 1. 100 *utinam non*.

II. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

I. *Neque* (*nec*).

A. *Ut . . neque* (*nec*).

As a feature of style, it may be noted that subordinate clauses, particularly of the type *ut . . neque* and *ut . . neve*, belong chiefly to prose, and pertain to the ratiocinative style. Accordingly such forms of expression are found in a writer like Cicero 59 times (with particles doubled, 116), in Caesar 22, in Livy 39 (with parts. doubled 71), but in Plin. Mai. only twice, in Quint. only 3, Pliny Min. only 3, Apul. only 4, Suet. only twice, and in Gellius only once. Sen. Phil., owing to his fondness for the epigrammatic style, shows only 5 such expressions. In Ovid such forms are found more often (11) than in any other poet, Lucr. showing only 2, Cat., Hor. and Sen. (Oed.) only one each, while Verg. and most poets hold entirely aloof from these forms.

The literature of these three periods shows a variety of taste in the selection of the form of connective adopted, and the writers may accordingly be divided into four classes: a) those who use *ut . . neque*, but do not use *ut . . neve*, as Auct. Her., Nepos (15)¹, Sen. Rhet. (2), Vitruv. (3), Vell. (7), Cels. (14), Plin. Mai. (5), Quint. (9), Qu. Decl. (3), Plin. Min. (5), Frontin., Flor., Just. (10), Gaius (3), Gell. (3), Fronto (3) and the poets, Lucan. (3), Calp., Val. Fl., Sil., Mart. (3), Juv. (2); b) those who use *ut . . neve*,

¹ The number in parenthesis indicates how often the former expression is used.

but not *ut . . neque*, as Varro (3), Sall. (8), Suet. (2), the poets, Cat., Hor., Lucr. (2); **c**) those who use both, as (*neque* first in parenthesis), Plaut. (4-5), Ter. (1-2), Caes. (11-11), Cic. (42-9), Ovid (6-5), Livy (25-14), Sen. Phil. (4-1), Apul. (3-1); **d**) those who use neither, as Cato, Verg., Tib., Mela, Petron., Phaedr., Pers., Stat. and Cato Dist. In all, *ut . . neque* is used 191 times to *ut . . neve* only 65 times, but it is to be remembered that the only proper form of comparison is with reference to the times that *ut . . neque* was used to express purpose. In purpose clauses *ut . . neve* was more common until the Silver Age, where it is used 23 times to *ut . . neque* 29 times, while before the ratio was 7-4 and 47-26. In Cicero, it is to be noted, *ut . . neve* is used 25 times to *ut . . neque* 17, to introduce purpose clauses. Cf. p. 268.

1) **Early Latin**: in prose (excluding inscriptions) neither form was used, but in poetry *ut . . neve* was used twice (Plaut.), *ut . . neu* 5 times, and *ut . . neque* once (Pl.), *ut . . nec* 3 (Pl.). In Early Latin, then, *ut . . neve* (neu) = 7, *ut . . neque* (nec) = 5 (Plaut. 4, Ter. 1), and in no case does the latter introduce a result clause.¹

2) **Classical Latin**—*ut . . neque*: in prose = 62, in poetry = 7 (Cat. 1, Ovid 6). In **Silver Latin**, prose = 51, poetry = 8 (Luc. (2), Val. Fl., Sil., Mart. (2), Juv. (2)),

CAESAR = 11 (nec = 2), all with two verbs, and all result exc. 3: 1. 35. 2; 5. 44. 13; 6. 39. 5; 41. 3; 43. 4; 7. 23. 3, B. C. 3. 69. 4. 84. 4; purpose: B. G. 2. 10. 5 persuaderi; 3. 65. 3 iussit; 3. 92. 2 praedixerat. (In the *Bella Alex.*, Afr., Hisp., the author of the first uses both *ut . . neque* and *ut . . neve*, that of the second, only *ut . . neque*, and that of the third, neither).

CICERO = 42 (nec = 18).

a) *With two verbs* = 36 (nec = 15).

1) *Speeches* = 13 (nec = 2, Result = 7 (nec = 1. S. Rosc. 57, Verr. 1. 70; 4. 81, Sest. 88, Piso 68, Rab. 36, Phil. 13. 25; purpose = 6 (nec 1): Div. Caec. 52 suadebit, S. Rosc. 66 fecisse ut agitent neque patiantur, Verr. 2. 41 commonefaciant; 3. 18 postularunt; 3. 115 cognoscite, Balb. 27 velit.

2) *Philosophical* = 14 (nec = 9. Result = 12 (nec = 8): Acad. 2. 27; 40, Fin. 2. 43; 5. 55; 67, N. D. 3. 19, Div. 1. 24; 125, Lael. 14; 19, Off. 3. 87, Tusc. 4. 9; purpose = 2: Off. 2. 73 administrabat, Tusc. 5. 52 *ut . . nec*.

¹ Cf. Bennett, *Early Latin I*, pp. 243, 254, 263 f.

3) *Rhetorical* = 6 (nec = 2). Result = 3 (nec = 2): De Or. 1. 110; 2. 308, Or. 117; purpose = 3 (nec = 1): De Or. 1. 19 hortamur, 2. 350 adiungam, Or. 14 videamus.

4) *Letters* = 3 (nec = 2), all purpose: Fam. 1. 10. 10 fac, Att. 7. 18. 4 denuntiavit, 13. 23. 3 loquere (Plancus, Fam. 10. 8. 3 opus fuerunt ut . . neque).

b) *With one verb* = 6 (nec = 2. Result = 3: Verr. 2. 164; 3. 160, Acad. 2. 101; purpose = 3: Verr. 4. 45 Qui? ut non conferam vitam neque existimationem; Tusc. 5. 13 ut videatur, Off. 1. 119 ut possimus, both *nec*.

NEPOS = 8 (nec = 0).

a) *With two verbs*: Result = 5 (Alc. 3. 5, Dion 2. 1, Chab. 3. 3, Ages. 8. 2, Att. 6. 1; purpose = 1: Alc. 7. 1 postulasset.

b) *With one verb* = 2, Epam. 5. 1; purpose: Eum. 8. 2 periculum est.

CATULLUS = 1: 68. 116, (2 vbs., purpose): perculit.

OVID = 6 (neque = 0), all with 2 vbs. Result = 3 (Tr. 1. 6. 7; 10. 50; 3. 5. 3), purpose = 3 (Her. 7. 21 erit; A. A. 2. 111 adde, Tr. 2. 480 vocato).

VITRUVIUS = 2 (neque): 1. 5. 4; 2. 4. 1 purpose: quaerendum. Note also purpose in 3. 5. 15 uti ne . . neque (2 vbs.).

SUMMARY: CLASSICAL PROSE.

WITH TWO VERBS.

	ut-neque		ut-nec		Total	
	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose
Caesar	7	2	1	1	8	3
Cicero, Speeches.....	6	5	1	1	7	6
Cicero, Phil.....	4	1	8	1	12	2
Cicero, Rhet.....	2	2	1	1	3	3
Cicero, Epis.	0	1	0	2	0	3
Nepos	5	1	0	0	5	1
Vitruvius	1	1	0	0	1	1
Total	25	13	11	6	36	19

NOTES ON CONNECTIVE WITH TWO VERBS.

1) *Ut . . neque* (nec) introduces result (36) about twice as often as it does purpose (19).

2) *Ut . . nec* introduces a result almost twice as often as it does a purpose clause, in Cicero Phil., 8 times as often.

3) *Ut . . neque* was the only form used by Nepos and Vitruv., as *ut . . nec* was the only form used by Ovid, who in this particular also was followed by the Silver Latin poets.

3) SILVER LATIN.

LIVY, *ut . . neque*: result 3, purpose 5; *ut . . nec*: result 6, purpose 11. VELL.= 3, result (*nec*); 2. 22. 4; 23. 3; purpose 2, 14. 3 *promitteret* (*neque*). CELSUS = 1, *neque*: 350. 24. SEN. PHIL. = 4 (*nec*): Ep. 26. 10; 98. 11; purpose, Dial. 5. 13. 4 *rogemus*, Ben. 2. 10. 1 *fallendus est*. PLIN. MAI. = 2 (*nec*): 6. 128; 17. 179. QUINT. = 3 (*nec*): 11. 1. 3; 87; purpose 1. 2. 15 *cura habenda est*; cf. 5. 7. 31 *ut . . aut ne*. QUINT. DECL. = 1 (*nec*): 49. 23, purpose: *quis dubitavit*? TAC. = 1 (*neque*): Ann. 13. 56 *placitum esse*. PLIN. MIN. = 3 (*nec*): Pan. 38. 2; purpose: 8. 14. 14 *postulabam*; 10. 70. 1 *consequemur*. JUST. = 3 (*nec*): 2. 1. 20; 7. 6. 16; 12. 16. 10. GAIUS = 1 (*neque*): 3. 56. GELLIUS = 1 (*neque*): 11. 13. 5, purpose, *admoniti*. APUL. = 3 (*nec*): Met. 185. 10, Phil. 117. 1; purpose: Met. 142. 15 *orabit*. (Prose = 51.) Poetry: LUCAN. = 2 (*nec*): 3. 324; 7. 428. VAL. FL. = 1 (*nec*): 8. 167. SIL. ITAL. = 1 (*nec*), purpose: 2. 509 *extendam*. MART. = 2 (*nec*): 6. 25. 5 *cauta sit*, purpose, and so 11. 71. 5 *rogat*. JUV. = 2 (*nec*), 6. 282; 16. 9 (*ut*) . . *nec*. (Poetry = 8.)

SUMMARY: SILVER LATIN PROSE.

	ut-neque		ut . . -nec		Total	
	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose	Result	Purpose
Livy	3	5	6	11	9	16
Velleius	0	1	2	0	2	1
Celsus	1	0	0	0	1	0
Sen. Phil.	0	0	2	2	2	2
Plin. Mai.	0	0	2	0	2	0
Quint.	0	0	2	1	2	1
Quint. Decl.	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tac.	0	1	0	0	0	1
Plin. Min.	0	0	1	2	1	2
Justin.	0	0	3	0	3	0
Gaius	1	0	0	0	1	0
Gellius	0	1	0	0	0	1
Apul.	0	0	2	1	2	1
Total	5	8	20	18	25	26

NOTES.

1) In poetry *ut . . neque* was not used at all, *ut . . nec*, 5 times result, 3 times purpose.

2) In Silver Latin, in contrast to Classical Latin (cf. *supra*), *ut . . neque* and *ut . . nec* are each used about the same number of times in expressions of purpose and result.

3) *Ut . . nec*, as in Class. prose, is used oftener with a result clause than with a purpose clause, and *ut . . neque* was not used, at all by Sen. Phil., Plin. Mai., Quint., Qu. Decl., Plin. Min. Justin. and Apul., tho all used *ut . . nec*.

4) *Ut . . neque* (*nec*) was used to introduce purpose clauses 61 times: 4 in Early Latin (Plaut.), 28 in Class. Lat. (24 in prose, 5, 1 vb.), and 29 in Sil. Lat. (prose 26). This combination is much more common in result clauses, except in Silver Latin, where the difference is very slight. It is to be especially noted that in Silver Latin *ut . . neque* (*nec*) is used oftener (26) to introduce purpose than *ut . . neve* (*neu*) (24), but 14 of these are in Livy.

B. UT NON . . NEQUE (*nec*) = 6.

With two verbs (2): Cic. Acad. 2. 54, Pomp. 44 (Praeteritio), with one verb (4): Rosc. 75, Verr. 3. 227; 4. 45 (Praeteritio), Pomp. 7.

C. VARIOUS.

Ut neque (*nec*) . . *et*: Caes. B. G. 3. 14. 4, Cic. Inv. 1. 24, Att. 3. 15. 6, Livy 35 times (cf. Class. Phil. III, p. 318), Vell. 2. 113. 3 *ut neque* *auderet et . . non possent*, Cels. 229. 22; 282. 20 and with one verb 63. 25; 312. 36; 332. 37; Plin. Min. 10. 61. 2, Quint. Decl. 166. 2, Frontin. 2. 3. 16 (2 vbs.), Florus 1. 1. 11. For *ut . . et ne* cf. p. 257. Cic. Cat. 2. 28 has *ut neque . . —que possitis*; Caes. B. C. 3. 82. 2, Varro. L. L. Frg. 43 (G. and Sch.) *ut nec . . aut non*.

D. UT NEQUE (*nec*) . . NEQUE (*nec*) = 175.

a) *With two verbs* = 61 (poetry 6) *ut neque . . neque* = 29, *ut neque . . nec* = 9, *ut nec . . nec* = 23.

1) **Early Latin** = 2: Ter. H. T. 964 *cepi rationem ut neque . . neque*; And. 279 (*neque quat.*).

2) **Classical Latin** = 32 (poetry = 3), purpose = 4.

CAESAR = 0, but cf. Bell. Alex. 16. 5; 61. 4 and Bell. Afr. 8. 4; 47. 3; 54. 5.

CICERO = 22 (9-7-6)¹, *Speeches* = 5 (neque . . neque): Verr. 2. 67, Cluent. 88, Leg. Agr. 2. 43, Mur. 15,² Dom. 28. *Phil.* = 5 (0-3-2): Fin. 1. 41; 2. 38, C. M. 72; purpose: Lael. 40; 52 (stipulative?), both with neque . . nec. *Rhet.* = 6 (3-2-1): De Or. 2. 108; 3. 16; 30; 193, Brut. 120, Or. 117. *Epist.* = 6 (1-2-3): Att. 3. 13. 2, Fam. 1. 5a. 3 (*bis*); 9. 16. 6; 9. 2. 3. and purpose: Att. 15. 13. 1 (stipulative?).

NEPOS = 4 (neque . . neque): Dat. 7. 3; Tim. 4. 1, Att. 2. 4; 14. 2.

CATULLUS = 1 (nec . . nec): 50. 9.

HORACE = 2 (nec . . nec): Ep. 1. 16. 12, A. P. 8.

VITRUVIUS = 3: neque . . neque 10. 2. 6; nec . . nec 8. 3, 1 and purpose: neque . . nec, 3. 4. 4.

3) **Silver Latin**, 2 verbs = 27 (poetry = 2): ut neque . . neque = 13, ut neque . . nec = 1, ut nec . . nec = 13.

a) *Ut neque . . neque* = 13 (purpose = 3): Livy 4. 11. 4; 22. 12. 8, both purpose; Vell. 2. 129. 3, Celsus (6) 45. 15; 237. 36; 307. 28; 315. 1; 322. 32, and purpose: 80. 7; Val. Max. 6. 8. 4, Just. 12. 8. 6; 43. 1. 3; Gell. 9. 4. 14.

b) *Ut neque . . nec* = 1: Calpurn. 1. 86.

c) *Ut nec . . nec* = 13 (purpose = 5). Livy 45. 25. 4 purpose; Sen. (5): Dial. 12. 10. 5; 11. 16. 3; 12. 15. 3, Ben. 2. 7. 2, and purpose: Dial. 9. 5. 5; Curt. 3. 1. 17, and purpose, 4. 13. 44; Quint. 10. 5. 23, Just. 2. 10. 10; 43. 1. 2 purpose; Apul., Apol. 105. 12. Poetry = 1: Mart. 5. 46. 4 purpose.

b) *With one verb* = 114 (poetry 4): ut neque . . neque = 66, ut neque . . nec = 11, ut nec . . neque = 2, ut nec . . nec = 35.

1) **Early Latin** = 2: Ter. Phorm. 176 (neque . . nec) and 498 (neque . . neque).

2) **Classical Latin** = 37, poetry = 1: ut neque . . neque = 28, ut neque . . nec = 3, ut nec . . nec = 6.

CAESAR = 3 (neque . . neque): 7. 76. 2; B. C. 1. 45. 4; 2. 32. 12.

CICERO = 30 (23-2-5).

1) *Speeches* = 10 (neque . . neque): Verr. 1. 81; 3. 162; 5. 159, Pomp. 10; 53, Cluent. 20; 82, Sest. 44, Phil. 13. 21. Purpose: Cluent. 118 *caute dicerentur*.

¹ The numbers in parenthesis show the number of times the forms *ut neque . . neque*, *ut neque . . nec*, and *ut nec . . nec* are used respectively.

² Merguet *Lex. Red.* cites as Cat. 4. 15.

2) *Philosophical* = 5 (1-1-3): Fin. 2. 87; 1. 45, N. D. 1. 101, Tusc. 4. 22. Purpose: Fin. 4. 9 (neque . . nec) denuntiant.

3) *Rhetorical* = 3 (2-0-1): De Or. 2. 126, Or. 229, Inv. 1. 52.

4) *Letters* = 11 (9-1-1): Fam. 2. 4. 1; 3. 7. 5; 13. 17. 3; 15. 1. 5, Q. Fr. 1. 12, Fam. 1. 5a. 3, Att. 1. 11. 1. Purpose: Fam. 1. 9. 17 enitor; 5. 11. 2 velim; Brut. 1. 17. 4 timet; Att. 15. 11. 1 placeret (all purpose, with ut neque . . neque).

NEPOS = 3 (neque . . neque): Alc. 2. 1, Iph. 2. 1. Purpose: Dat. 6. 2 ponit (cf. Cato 3. 2 fecit ut non neque de . . neque de . . possit).

SEN. CONTR. = 2 (2. 1. 6 nec . . nec. Purpose 2. 1. 11 (neque . . nec).

LUCRET. = 1 (neque . . neque): 2. 339.

3) *Silver Latin* = 75; poetry = 2: ut neque . . neque = 37, ut neque . . nec = 7, ut nec . . neque = 2, ut nec . . nec = 29.

a) *Ut neque . . neque* = 37 (purpose = 7). Livy = 7 (purpose = 3); Vell. 2. 124. 4; Cels. (7) 40. 16; 61. 28; 78. 5; 114. 28; 190. 24; 229. 30; purpose: 275. 33 subsecrare; Plin. Mai. 18. 32; 24. 68; 29. 46; Quint. 9. 1. 25; 11. 2. 37; purpose: 10. 7. 29 debent efficere, and 11. 3. 53 colligendus est; Ps. Quint. Decl. 140. 18; purpose: temperanda est; Frontin. 2. 1. 5; Suet. Iul. 40. 1; 65, Nero 51, Galba 6. 3. 21; Florus 2. 2. 2; Justin. 9. 4. 3; 25. 2. 10; 45. 5. 2; Gaius 1. 123; 3. 193; Gell. 14. 1. 18; Apul. Apol. 105. 12.

b) *Ut neque . . nec* = 7 (purpose = 3), poetry = 1. Livy (3), Curt. 3. 10. 8 purpose, admonebat; Quint. 1. 6. 40 purpose, opus est; Just. 2. 1. 7; Lucan 9. 376 purpose: spes erat.

c) *Ut nec . . neque* = 2. Only found in Livy: 22. 28. 14; 40. 9. 4.

d) *Ut nec . . nec* = 29 (purpose = 3), poetry = 1. Livy (18), purpose = 3; Vell. 2. 101. 1; 2. 103. 4; Val. Max. 5. 2. 10; Plin. Mai. 29. 46; Quint. 10. 1. 76, Plin. Min. 1. 1. 2; Pan. 79. 6; Florus 2. 2. 1; Apul. Apol. 103. 22; 105. 13. Poetry: Mart. 5. 46. 4.

E. VARIOUS.

Ut . . . neque (nec) . . . neque (nec), as Cic. Cael. 16 ut accusaret neque quaereret nec arcesseret; Verr. 3. 125, Rep. 5. 7, Tusc. 4. 37, Ovid Met. 2. 538. Purpose: Cic. Verr. 2. 41, Off. 1. 102; and Off. 2. 85 ut . . . et neque . . neque. *Ut neque (nec) ter*, etc. Caes. B. C. 3. 110. 1; Cic. Caec. 92, Fat. 40, Fam.

1. 12, Q. Fr. 2. 3 2, Att. 13. 1. 1, Rep. 2. 23; Ovid Tr. 1. 8. 13, Cic. Verr. 3. 20, Or. 88; 231, Tusc. 4. 37; Auct. Her. 2. 27. Cf. Varro L. L. Frg. 43 ut nec . . aut non.

SUMMARY.

1) *Ut neque* (nec) . . *neque* (nec) was used more often with one main verb (114) than with two (61).

2) These combinations were not found in Early Latin, except in Terence (4).

3) The formula *ut nec* . . *neque* was only used twice and by one writer, Livy.

4) These combinations belong chiefly to prose, being found 164 times in prose to only 11 in poetry (4-4-3).

5) With *two* verbs, *ut neque* . . *neque* was used in result clauses 25 times, in purpose 5 times (Class. = 0); *ut neque* . . *nec*, 7 in result, 2 in purpose (Class.); *ut nec* . . *nec* in result 17, in purpose 6 (0-10-13).

6) With *one* verb: *ut neque* . . *neque* was used in result clauses 54 times, in purpose 13; *ut neque* . . *nec* in result 8, in purpose 3; *ut nec* . . *neque* in result twice (Livy), and *ut nec* . . *nec* in result 31, in purpose 3.

F. NE . . NEQUE (nec) = 17 (poetry = 4).

This combination with two verbs begins in prose with Livy,¹ in poetry with Vergil, and is used in all 15 times, 12 being with *nec*. *Ne* . . *neque*: Verg. A. 11. 43, Tac. Ann. 6. 12, Apul. Apol. 9. 8, but *ne* . . *nec*: Livy 3. 21. 6 (dum ne); 5. 3. 8; 26. 42. 2; 40. 46. 4. Sen. Dial. 9. 14. 1, Tac. Ann. 11. 18; 15. 43, Apul. Apol. 97. 12, Phil. 129. 15; in poetry: Sil. 13. 635, Mart. 12. 55. 10, Cato Dist. 3. 12. With one verb: Cic. Verr. 4. 60 facio ne fuisse videatur neque se instruxisse et ornasse; Fin. 4. 10 effecit ne necesse sit decantare neque discedere. Cf. Cic. Leg. 2. 60 and Lease, Class. Phil. 3, p. 313. For *ne* . . *neque* with the imperative cf. p. 263; with pres. subj., p. 273.

G. NE . . NEQUE (nec) . . . NEQUE (nec).

With two verbs: Just. 11. 13. 8 *ne* . . *nec* . . *nec*. With one verb: Cic. Div. Caec. 73 *ne neque placuisse neque placere arbi-*

¹ In Nepos, Paus. 46 Halm's reading *ne* . . *nec* has been changed to *ne* . . *neu*.

tretur. Caesar B. G. 7. 75. 1 has *ne . . nec . . nec . . nec* with one main verb. Note Ter. Eun. 965 *ne neque prosis et pereas*.

II. NEVE (neu).

A. UT . . . NEVE (neu) = 70 (neu = 35), poetry = 17.

1) EARLY LATIN = 7 (neve = 2), in Plaut. and Ter.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 40 (neu = 17), poetry = 9. Varro (3): R. R. 3. 7. 3; 10. 4; 11. 3, all *neve* and with 2 vbs.; Caesar 11 (neu = 8); *neu* 2. 21. 2; 4. 17. 10; 5. 34. 3; 7. 8. 4; 47. 5; 71. 3, B. C. 111. 9; *neve* 6. 20. 1, B. C. 3. 103. 4, Poet. Fgt. p. 327 (B.), and parataxis; B. G. 5. 58. 4 *neu*. Cf. B. Alex. 9. 1. Cicero = 9 (neu = 0): Pomp. 69, Sest. 101, Phil. 7. 8, Off. 3. 6, Fam. 10. 16. 2, Q. Fr. 1. 1. 17, Att. 3. 23. 5; 13. 45. 1, Verr. 3. 14 (*v. l.*). Note Fam. 5. 16. 2 *quo minus . . neve*. Sallust = 8 (neu = 7): Cat. 34. 2 (*neve*), Iug. 8. 2; 10. 3; 102. 5, Or. Ph. 9, Macr. 13, Ep. Pomp. 8 and Mith. 23. Parataxis: Cat. 33. 5; 58. 21, Iug. 108. 2, and Or. Ph. 16 with *hortor*¹ and Lep. 4 *quod est aliud quam . . neu*. Catullus = 1 (neu): 116. 3 (*qui . . neu*), Lucr. = 2 (*neve*): 2. 558; 1010, Horace = 1 (neu): Sat. 1. 10. 9. For Prop. 2. 27. 10 cf. p. 434. Ovid = 5 (*neve*): Am. 1. 8. 76; 2. 15. 16, A. A. 1. 35. 4, Trist. 3. 11. 73, Met. 4. 87.

3) SILVER LATIN = 23 (neu = 13), poetry = 1. Livy = 14 (neu = 10). Curt. = 2 (neu): 8. 2. 27; 3. 15. Tac. = 3 (*neve*); Ann. 1. 42; 2. 83, Hist. 4. 32. Suet. = 2 (*neve*): Vit. 17, Vesp. 11. Apul. = 1 (neu): Flor. 9. 9. Poetry, once: Sen. Oed. 73 (*neve*).

B. UT NEVE (neu) . . NEVE (neu) = 4.

a) *With two verbs*² = 1: Cic. De Or. 3. 172 (Parataxis: Caes. B. G. 1. 35. 3; Sall. Cat. 51. 43, Tib. 1. 6. 17. Cf. Val. Max. 2. 7. 15.)

b) *With one verb*: = 3: Cic. De Or. 1. 171 *ut neve asper neve hiulcus sit*, Off. 1. 141, Att. 5. 21. 12 in a *Sen. Cons.*, Fam. 1. 9. 19. Cf. Caes. B. C. 3. 86. 5 *ut essent neu suam neu reliquorum opinionem fallerent*, and B. C. 1. 76. 1 (first *neu* may be explained as *et ne*); Verg. Aen. 9. 41, parataxis. (The text is

¹ Without *ut*, as in Jug. 5. 62, Or. Ph. 16, Caes. B. G. 6. 33. 5, B. C. 1. 21. 4. It may be noted that in Early Latin *hortor* is used with *ut* 7 times, without *ut* twice (Bennett). Caesar uses *ut* in B. C. 103. 4, and Cic. in Pomp. 69, De Or. 1. 19.

² Cf. Lease, Class. Phil. III, p. 302, and also Schmalz Synt.⁴, § 280.

uncertain in Aen. 9. 90). Note also Livy 30. 37. 4 condiciones pacis ut . . . ; *neve* . . . *neve* ; 25. 38. 5 excitant neu se neu milites neu rem patiar, and Sen. Ep. 7. 8. devitandum est : *neve* similis malis fias *neve* inimicus multis.

C. NE . . NEVE (neu) = 168.

This usage increases from 33 in Early Latin to 65 in Classical Latin and 70 in Silver Latin. In poetry it decreases from 27 in the first period to 22 in the second and 4 in the third. *Neve* is more common than *neu* in every period.

1) EARLY LATIN = 33 (neu = 14), prose = 6. Excluding inscriptions *ne* . . . *neve* (neu = 1) is only found in prose in Cato. In Plaut. *neve* = 9, neu = 12, in Ter. *neve* = 3, neu = 2, in Pac. *neve* = 1. Cf. Ter. Hec. 729 *ne* . . . *aut ne*, 595 *ut ne* . . . —*ve*.

2) CLASSICAL LATIN = 65 (neu = 29), prose = 43. Varro = 3 (*neve*), R. R. 1. 12. 3; 3. 11. 5; 12. 3. *Sallust* = 6 (neu = 4), with 2 vbs.: Cat. 51. 7, Jug. 15. 1; 51. 4; 64. 2, all with *neu*; 1 vb.: Iug. 45. 2; 58. 5. *Caesar* = 12 (neu = 7), 2 vbs.: 6. 32. 1; 7. 29. 1; 53. 1, B. C. 1. 86. 4; 3. 73. 2; 98. 2; 112. 12 (= 7); 1 vb.: 1. 26. 6;¹ 5. 22. 5; 7. 14. 9, B. C. 1. 64. 2;¹ 74. 3 (= 5).

Cicero = 18 (neu = 2), 2 vbs. (12): Balb. 31, Fin. 3. 72, Rep. 1. 9; 2. 53, Lael. 65; 78 (ut *ne*), Leg. 2. 64, Off. 1. 91, Fam. 15. 12. 2, Q. Fr. 1. 1. 4; *neu*: ad Brut. 1. 4a. 1; 16. 10. With one verb (6): Verr. 1. 107; 2. 60, Phil. 1. 19; 2. 91, Or. 29; 221 (Att. 3. 15. 6, a law, and Fam. 16. 8. 1, Quint. Cic.). *Nepos* = 4 (neu = 1), with 2 vbs.: Paus. 4. 6 (neu), Thras. 3. 1; 3. 2, Epam. 1. 1. **Poetry** = 22: Lucr. (2), neu = 1, 2 vbs.: 5. 81; 6. 599 (neu), Cat. (2), neu, 2 vbs.: 32. 6; 68. 12, Verg. (6), neu, 2 vbs.: G. 1. 180, A. 413; 7. 22; 333; one vb.: A. 2. 188; 12. 824, Hor. (3), neu, 2 vbs.: C. 1. 33. 2; 1. 35. 13, Sat. 2. 5. 37, Tib. 3. 10. 6. neu, Prop. = 1, *neve*, 2 vbs.: 1. 3. 30, Ovid (7), neu = 2, 2 vbs.: Her. 3. 79; 7. 62 (*ne* . . . *noceamve* . . . *neu*), A. A. 1. 668; 3. 194; Tr. 2. 204; 4. 515, Pont. 1. 3. 90 (neu). Note: in prose this usage with both 2 vbs. and with one is found in every writer except *Nepos*; in poetry, only with 2 vbs., except Verg. (2).

SILVER LATIN = 70 (neu = 24), poetry 4, and used with one verb, only by Livy, Plin. Mai. and Tac. Livy = 32 (neu = 9); with 2 vbs., *neve* (10): 4. 30. 13; 7. 14. 2; 23. 7. 1 (quis); 26. 1. 10; 28. 13 (quis), 36. 3. 3 (quis); 37. 53. 6; 39. 19. 4; 40. 44. 10;

¹ Omitted by Meusel, Lex. Caes. s. v.

41. 8. 12 (quis); *neu* (5): 2. 24. 6 (quis); 3. 50. 5; 8. 34. 6; 23. 7. 4; 34. 35. 9. With one verb, *neve* (13): 1. 52. 6; 3. 17. 12; 21. 40. 5; 23. 2. 10 (quis); 34. 9 (quis); 25. 14. 2; 27. 38. 6; 30. 37. 6; 33. 30. 6; 38. 4. 6; 29. 8; 39. 17. 3; 38. 18. 8; *neu* (4): 4. 30. 11 (quis); 34. 35. 11; 39. 14. 8; 45. 25. 9. Celsus = 3 (*neve*): 23. 16; 298. 38; 311. 14. Curt. = 1 (*neu*), 8. 5. 14. Petron. = 2 (*neve*): 17; 80. Plin. Mai. = 3 (*neve*), 2 vbs.: 17. 85; 261; one vb.: 17. 124. Quint. = 1 (*neu*): 5. 13. 42. Tac. = 13 (*neu* = 8), 2 vbs.: Ann. 1. 6; 4. 63; 12. 19; 13. 28, all with *neve*; with *neu*: Ann. 2. 58; 15. 22; 31. 73; Hist. 4. 46, Ann. 3. 71 (*dum ne*); with one verb: 1. 7; 2. 29 (*neve*); 6. 5. 12. Plin. Min. = 2 (*neve*), 10. 33. 3; 79. 1. Frontin., *neu*, 15. 3. Suet., *neve*, Aug. 21. 2. Justin., *neu*, 6. 3. 8; 18. 4. 10. Gaius, *neve*, 4. 140; 1. 27 (*ut ne*). Gell. Praef. 20 (*ut ne*); 9. 8. 2; 10. 22. 2. Note Apul. Met. 107. 23 *ne . . neve . nec*; cf. p. 273, f. Poetry = 4 (*neu* = 2): Sen. Theb. 4. 83 (*neu*), Val. Fl. 3. 308, Sil. 6. 585 (*neu*), Mart. 1. 3. 10.

SUMMARY.

1) In Early Latin *ne . . neve* was used over four times as often in poetry (27) as in prose (6). In strong contrast to this is the usage of Silver Latin, where it is used only 4 times in poetry to 66 times in prose, and of Class. Latin, where poetry shows 29 occurrences but prose, 43.

2) In every period *neve* outnumbers *neu*, 19-14, 36-29, 46-24.

3) In class. prose *ne . . neve* is used 30 times with two verbs, 13 times with one. In poetry, Vergil alone uses this combination with one verb. In Silver Latin, Livy, Pliny Mai. and Tacitus alone use *ne . . neve* with both two verbs and with one. (In all, with two verbs 49, with one 21.) Note Tac. Ann. 3. 71 *dum ne . . . neu*. For *ne . . neque* cf. p. 430.

D. NE . . . NEVE (*neu*) . . . NEVE (*neu*).

The formula *ne neve . . neve* was not used. Cf. p. 435 *extr*.

a) *With three verbs*: Caes. B. C. 2. 28. 2 *ne deponerent neu ferrent neu pugnarent*, and so: Hor. Ep. 1. 16. 20, Livy 34. 1. 3, Suet. Iul. 42; with *dum ne*: Livy 25. 7. 4, Frontin. 4. 1. 44. Cf. Prop. 3. 12. 10 *ne . . neve . . neu . . neve*.

b) *With one verb*: Cic. Leg. 2. 67 *ne quis minuat neve vivus neve mortuus*, and Prop. 1. 10. 21 (cf. p. 435, I); cf. Hor. Sat. 1. 3.

110, Livy 29. 24. 3 and Celsus 57. 17 ne . . ne . . ne . . neve . . neve.

c) *With two verbs*: Cato 5. 6 ne ares neve plostrum neve pecus impellas Livy 8. 32. 15 ne tenderet neu . . neu . . neu iniungeret: 39. 18. 9 dum ne . . neu qua . . neu quis esset.

d) *Various*: Cato 37. 4 Caveto ne doles neu caedas neu tangas nisi siccam neu gelidam neu rorulentam; 38. 2 caveto ne intermittas neve noctu neve ullo tempore intermittatur caveto. Livy 43. 2. 12 ne . . neve . . et ne. Celsus 62. 34 ne neve (*quat.*).

E. NEVE AFTER A PERIOD.

After a period *neve* (neu) was used to begin a principal clause only by Ovid¹ (cf. p. 270), and to introduce a subordinate clause only by Ovid and Lucan. For a similar use of *et ne* and *ac ne* and *neque* cf. pp. 256, 262. However, Sen. Phil. uses *neve* (neu) twice after a semicolon (Phaedr. 1250, Agam. 184), and its use after a comma is more common: Sen. H. F. 681, Lucan 10. 232, Stat. Theb. 2. 94, Silv. 1. 5. 32. Ovid's usage shows three varieties:

a) *Before an imperative* = 9 (neu = 2): Am. 1. 7. 67 *Neve* supersint, pone; Met. 2. 693; 8. 794; 11. 136, Her. 18. 70; 20. 152, Fast. 1. 288; 683; 4. 838. Cf. Tib. 1. 6. 17 *Neu* celebret, caveto, *neve . . neu . . digitoque* trahat.

b) *Before a subjunctive* = 1: Ibis 252 *Neve* cruciere, sint.

c) *Before an indicative* = 40 (neu = 11): Am. 3. 7. 83 *Neve* possent, dissimulavit; Her. 15. 298; 361; 16. 71; 18. 191; 20. 111; 21. 51, Met. 1. 72; 151; 445; 2. 395; 482; 800 (plpf.), 4. 716; 5. 516; 6. 40; 7. 137; 297; 520; 850; 9. 415; 10. 679; 11. 30; 13. 306; 14. 473; 759, Trist. 2. 245; 3. 5. 41; 3. 9. 29, Pont. 1. 3. 53; 2. 9. 53; 3. 3. 45; 85; 4. 8. 46; 9. 110, Fast. 1. 507; 623; 3. 135; 4. 59, and once by Lucan, 8. 498 (*H., nec v. l.*) *Neu* privaverit, sunt. Note Caes. B. C. 1. 76. 1 milites appellat neu se neu Pompeium tradant, obsecrant.

F. NEVE AFTER AN INDICATIVE.

This usage is very rare: Ovid. Met. 9. 415 petet annos neve sinat; Prop. 2. 27. 10 (timetis) ruinas neu subeant. Further examples of such inconcinnity are Tac. Hist. 3. 25 precabatur manes neve se aversarentur; Pers. 3. 5 (erat in voto) neu quis

¹ Draeger, H. S. II¹, p. 695 cites only 6 occurrences in Ovid.

(esset). Cf. also Tac. Ann. 1. 35 *mederetur neu mortem . . . orabant*. Cf. under I *infra*.

G. NEU . . NEVE after a Supine.

This form of expression is found only in Prop. 2. 29. 28: *ibat narratum somnia neu sibi neve mihi nocitura forent*. (Butler (Loeb Classics) translates: "for fear", etc.

I. NEVE (neu) WITH AN INFINITIVE.

This anomalous construction is found in Tac. Ann. 16. 34 *flentes facessere neu miscere hortatur*, and Sil. Ital. 2. 385 *legere neu fallere imperat*. Cf. Prop. 1. 10. 21 *ne cupias pugnare neve loqui neve tacere*; Tac. Ann. 3. 63 *iussi figere neu delaberentur*. Cf. *ac ne* (Suet.), p. 358, e.

J. NE AUT . . . AUT.

As this form of expression gives the key to the clause, showing its character at the start, one would naturally expect it to be more common than *ut neve . . neve* or *ut neque . . neque*. Accordingly, Cicero uses *ne aut . . aut* 43 times (17 with 2 vbs.), but *ut neve . . neve* only 4 times (1 with 2 vbs.). Caesar uses the former 9 times (5 with 2 vbs.), and Livy uses it 24 times (13 with 2 vbs.), but neither use the latter, though each has *ut . . neve . . neve* once. It is to be noted that in poetry neither form of expression is found, that *neve . . neve* following an *ut* is used only twice in Silver Latin (by Livy and Val. Max.), that writers of such scope as Sen. Phil. use *ne aut . . aut* only 8 times, Val. Max. only 3 times, Quint. 8, and Tac. only once, Suet. only 5, and that neither form is used by Sall., Nepos, Mela, Petron., Plin. Mai., Plin. Min., Quint. Decl., Gaius, Gellius and Apuleius.

Ut neque . . neque was used by Cicero to express result 41 times, but 9 times to express purpose, the latter a usage foreign to Caesar. This formula is also used 9 times by Livy to introduce purpose clauses, with result, 23 times. See further, p. 430. Contrast the use with *ne aut . . . aut*.

Ne . . . neve . . . neve is another possible combination. Schmalz, *Antib. d. Lat. Spr.* II¹, p. 145 remarks that *ne aut . . aut* is more common than *ne neve . . neve*. This statement is unquestionably correct, inasmuch as the latter expression was not used at all! The combination should be: *ne . . . neve . . . neve*. For details, cf. D, *supra*, p. 433.

Ne aut . . . aut was used, in general, more often with one verb than with two. The occurrences are as follows: Caesar 5, with two verbs, 4 with one, but Cicero 17-26, Livy 13-11, Val. Max. 1-2, Sen. Phil. 4-4, Quint. 1-7, Suet. 1-4, Justin. 2-4, while Vell. Pat. and Curt. use it only once each with one verb, and Celsus only twice, with 2 verbs. The total is: 47 with two verbs, 65 with one verb. The details are as follows:

a) *With two verbs* = 47. Caes. = 5 (1. 13. 5; 6. 5. 5; 7. 54. 2; 72. 2, B. C. 2. 9. 4), Cicero = 17 (Inv. 1. 12; 32; 33, De Or. 2. 177; 3. 188, Part. Or. 18, Verr. 1. 14, Sest. 39. Off. 1. 14; 7. 3; 136, Fam. 1. 5a. 3; 11. 91; 15. 13. 2, Att. 3. 10. 2; 7. 3. 11; 9. 7. 2). Note Lael. 65 ut ne . . . aut . . . aut, Sex. Rosc. 82 ne aut . . . sim aut ne . . . videar. Livy = 13, Cels. = 2 (61. 5; 311. 32), Val. Max. = 1 (7. 2. 4), Sen. Phil. = 4 (Dial. 4. 21. 1; 11. 4. 5, Ep. 17. 2; 24. 6), Quint. = 1 (12. 11. 9), Tac. = 1 (Ann. 14. 61), Suet. = 1 (Aug. 92. 2), Justin. = 2 (5. 2. 14; 14. 2. 3).

b) *With one verb* = 65. Caes. = 4 (1. 43. 9; 6. 5. 2, B. C. 1. 21. 1; 3. 1. 5), Cic. = 26 (with 2 subst., 8: De Or. 1. 35; 2. 205; 3. 192, Sest. 37, Font. 22, Fam. 3. 8. 9, Att. 3. 17. 3; 15. 3. 3; two adjs., 8; Cluent. 6, Quinct. 57, Pomp. 47, De Or. 2. 230, Part. Or. 89, Fin. 1. 68, C. M. 31, Off. 1. 133; with two infins., 5: Inv. 2. 40, Cluent. 51, Leg. Agr. 34, Planc. 74, Fam. 4. 1. 2; with other forms, 5: Att. 1. 16. 9, Inv. 1. 30; 2. 63, Fan. 10. 23. 7; Q. Fr. 2. 3. 2. Cf. Dom. 36 ut ne quid aut de . . . aut de), Sen. Contr. 1. pr. 11, Livy 11, Vell. Pat. 2. 40. 6, Val. Max. 2 (3. 5. 1; 6. 2. 7), Sen. Phil. 4 (Dial. 6. 5. 1; 7. 16. 1; 9. 12. 1, Ben. 7. 8. 3), Curt. 8. 1. 18, Quint. 7 (1. 3. 11; 4. 1. 58; 2. 60; 6. 3. 34; 8. 3. 73; 11. 1. 67; 86), Suet. 4 (Iul. 53, Aug. 12; 49. 2; Tib. 10. 1), Justin. 4 (2. 7. 9; 18. 1. 2; 20. 5. 13; 23. 3. 7).

EMORY B. LEASE.

THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

III.—MUMMY-LABELS IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.¹

Nearly all archaeological museums now contain mummy-labels from Egypt.² Although the total number of these objects is large, relatively few of them have been published, but even these few have made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Demotic names and of the relations existing between the Greek and native populations of lower Egypt during the second and third centuries A. D.³ Incidentally an odd label has now and then been the means of conclusively identifying some ancient site. For instance, the discovery of No. 8 of our collection at Kôm Ushîm enabled the excavators to identify this place as the ancient Karanis.⁴ In a similar way Tanis was located.⁵

Mummy-labels are made of a variety of materials, such as stone, bronze, faïence, papyrus, cloth and wood. Wood is by far the commonest, the plane, sycamore, acacia, pine and cedar being chiefly employed.⁶ The labels are as a rule small rudely-cut slabs varying in thickness from five to twenty millimetres. They are roughly rectangular in outline, with or without trapeziform offsets at the ends. A common variant of this type is

¹ These were placed at my disposal through the kindness of my friend Mr. C. T. Currelly, the Director of the museum. Since this article went into the printers' hands he has given me access to three other labels which I hope to publish later.

² A bibliography of the subject was published by De Ricci in the *Rev. Arch.*, ser. 4, V, 1905, pp. 435-442. To this must be added the following later publications: H. R. Hall, *Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, XXVII, 1905, pp. 13-20, 48-56, 83-91, 115-122, 159-165; N. Reich, *Demot. und gr. Texte auf Mumientäfelchen in der Sammlung der Pap. Erzherzog Rainer*, 1908; H. F. Allen, *Two Mummy-labels in the Carnegie Museum*, *Annals of the Carnegie Mus.*, VIII, 1912, 2, pp. 218-221: *id.*, *Five Mummy-labels in the Metropolitan Museum*, *A. J. P.*, XXXIV, 2, pp. 194 ff.; G. Lefébvre, *Inscr. gr.-chrét. d'Ég.*, pp. 135-136; E. W. Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 188-189.

³ See Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Allen, *Two Mummy-labels*, p. 218.

⁴ Cf. Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and Their Papyri*, p. 41 *Arch. Rep. of the Eg. Expl. Fund.*, 1895-1896, p. 16.

⁵ *Arch. Rep. of the Eg. Expl. Fund.*, 1901-1902, p. 3.

⁶ Merriam, *Amer. Jour. of Arch.*, II, 1886, p. 152.

one in which the corners have been chamfered off to a blunt point. Less common is the type with a single circular or trapeziform offset above the inscription. Often the wood is more or less evenly discolored as with a dark oily substance that possesses an odor highly suggestive of hot asphaltum. There can be no doubt but that this is due to the bitumen in which, as Bouriant tells us,¹ the corpses were plunged in the process of embalming in the late period. In some cases the label has become so darkened as to make it almost impossible to read with any certainty an inscription traced upon it in ink or paint.

The labels were generally tied about the necks of the mummies² and served many purposes, either singly or in combination. They were used as documents of identification, shipping-tags, bills of lading, letters, and even as memorials.³ But as their chief purpose was to identify, the inscriptions were generally made up of such items as were directly pertinent to that end, as the name (or names) of the deceased, a patronymic, a matronymic, other relationships either of blood or by marriage, profession, nativity or citizenship, age, date of death, as well as the source, destination and route of shipment of the mummy. In no single instance are all these elements found together; on the contrary, the utmost caprice prevails in combining them. On some labels the inscription is reduced to the minimum of a single word, the name.⁴ The opposite extreme of unusual fullness of detail may be observed in No. 9 of this series.

It is to be regretted that we know nothing of the circumstances connected with the discovery of our labels, save in the case of No. 8.

1. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood; a combination of a document of identification and shipping-tag; probably from Akhmfm; a rhomboid 12.6×12 mm.;⁵ thickness uniformly 2.1 mm.; trapeziform offset at top 11.4×1.8 mm., pierced at its line of junction with the body of the label, the hole still retain-

¹ *Receuil des Travaux*, XI, 1889, pp. 143-144.

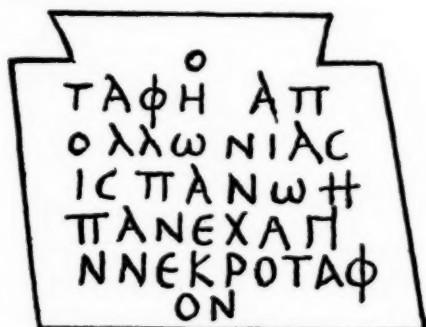
² Wilcken, *Arch. Anzeiger*, IV, 1889, p. 3; Flinders Petrie, *Denderah*, p. 32; Letronne, Egger et Brunet de Presle, *Pap. gr. du Louvre*, p. 234, No. 18 bis, ll. 5-6.

³ See De Ricci, pp. 437-438, No. 3; Spiegelberg, *Rec. des Trav.*, XXVI, 1904, pp. 57-58, No. 4, ll. 3-4.

⁴ Milne, *Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire*, *Gr. Inscr.*, 9320; 9332.

⁵ These measurements in each case include the offsets.

ing a piece of coarse cord; wood of an uniformly deep brown; uncial letters varying in height from 1 to 5 mm., rudely punched in outline with the point of a burin.



Ταφή Ἀπ | ολλωνίας | ἰς Πανὼ π. | Πανεχάτι | ν νεκροτάφ | ον.

Ταφή: "Die Bedeutung des Wortes ταφή, welches die Leichenhülle, eventuell den Sarg sammt der Leiche, eventuell Mumie bezeichnet, ergibt sich aus dem im Eingange citirten Pariser Papyrus 18 bis . . ." ¹ Trans., therefore, "mummy" or "remains". The word is frequently omitted, though implied, as in No. 3 (cf. Allen, Two Mummy-labels, pp. 218-219).

¹ Ἀπολλωνίας: Not uncommon in the Fayûm; for mummy-labels see Krebs, ² 62; Spiegelberg, ³ pp. 1* (= Guimet, 1) and 45.

ἰς: In mummy-labels more usual than εἰς, as in Nos. 2, 8, 9 (but εἰς in No. 3). ἰς Φιλαδελφίαν (Wessely, Holztäf., 6); cf. Reich, Gr. 21; εὐψύχι (Hall, 19; 20). For ι = εἰ in papyri see Mayser, Gram. d. gr. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit, pp. 87-88; in inscriptions, see Schwyzer-Meisterhans, Gram. d. att. Inschr., p. 38.

Πανώ: = Πανώνπολιν or Πανόπολιν, the modern Akhmîm (Hall, p. 48; Schmidt, as below). Ἀπόδος τὴν ταφήν ἰς Πανώνπολιν ὅτι Δίδυμος Πανοπολίτης ἐστὶν Δίδυμος υἱὸς Πατρίφουτος (Schmidt, Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr., XXXIV, 1896, p. 80; cf. Krebs, 33); ἰς Πανωνπόλεως (sic) (Reich, Gr. 21). Only Πανώ occurs in Nos. 2, 3, 9 of this series.

† = Π, which is clearly read in No. 2a 4: perhaps an abbreviation of π(ρός), or π(αρά), or π(αράδος). I can find no other occurrence of the sign in mummy-labels. Ordinarily the consignee

¹ Wessely, Holztäfelchen der Samm. d. Pap. Erz. Rain., V, 1889, p. 14.

² Gr. Mumienetiketten aus Aeg., Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr., XXXII, 1894, pp. 36-51.

³ Demotische Stud., I, Aeg. und gr. Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten d. Röm. Kaiserzeit, 1904.

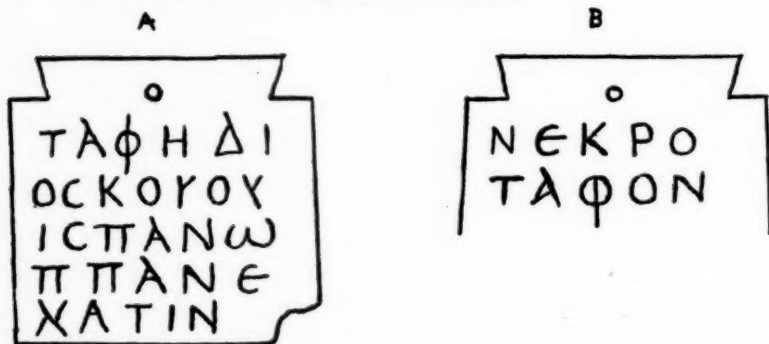
is indicated by the dat., as *παράδος* *ἰς* *Πανὸν τῷ υἱῷ Πανεχάτου* (No. 9); *ἀπόδος* *Ψοῖ τῷ υἱῷ* (Reich, Gr. 4). If the sign stands for *παράδος*, then *Πανεχάτιν νεκροτάφον* will have to be read as datives, as is *Πρώταρχον* (No. 8; see n.).

Πανεχάτιν = *Πανεχάτην*: Here and in Nos. 2 and 9, this name, referring evidently to the same man in each case, appears for the first time in published mummy-labels, though it is not unknown in the papyri; e. g., Aeg. Urkunden aus d. K. Mus. zu Berlin, gr. Urk., III, 997, i, 3: ii, 4, 8; 998, i, 3, 9; ii, 2, 5. For *ι* = *η* see Mayser, op. cit., pp. 83-84; Schwyzer-Meisterhans, op. cit., p. 19; cf. Audollent, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904, 30, 9. 20. 24. 38; 242, 43; 159b 26.

νεκροτάφον: So in No. 2b, but *νεκροάρτου* in No. 9. Cf. n. on *Διοσκόρου* (No. 2a).

Translation: Remains of Apollonia (to be shipped) to Panopolis to Panechates the embalmer. Or, if *π* = *παράδος*—Remains of Apollonia (to be shipped) to Panopolis. Deliver to Panechates the embalmer.

2. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood; serves the same purpose as No. 1; probably from Akhmîm; slightly rhomboidal in outline, the lower right hand corner being broken off roughly at a knot in the wood; dimensions 11 × 10.4 mm.; thickness uniformly 2.1 mm.; trapeziform offset at the top 9.2 × 1.6 mm., pierced at the centre of its line of junction with the body of the label; wood of an uniformly deep brown; letters same as in No. 1; opisthographic. This label and No. 1 are clearly prepared from the same plank and by the same hand.



A. Ταφή Διόσκουρου ἰς Πανὸν π. Πανεχάτιν,

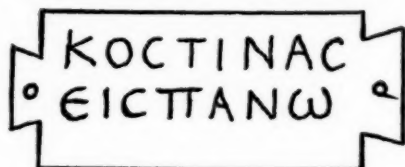
B. νεκροτάφον.

Διοσκόρου: A common name in mummy-labels and in the

papyri of the Fayûm; as ταπή (= ταφή) Διοσκόρ(ο)υ ἰς Πανώπου ἀρτिकाίου (= ἀρτοκόπου?) Ἑρσεούτι νεκροτάφ(ω). (Milne, 9352, recto); Περώνιος Διοσκόρου γναφεύς (Reich, Gr. 5). See also Milne, 9389; Reich, Gr. 2; Fayûm Towns, ind., p. 340. The same forms of ρ, V and P are found in Milne, 9352, recto, just quoted.

Translation: Remains of Dioscorus (to be shipped) to Panopolis to Panechates the embalmer. (For the alternative interpretation, see No. 1).

3. Mummy-label of soft pine; serves the same purpose as Nos. 1 and 2; probably from Akhmîm; rectangular, with trapeziform offsets of unequal size at both sides, 18.3 × 8.4 cm.; thickness uniformly 1.2 cm.; right offset 5.1 × 2.2 cm., left offset 4.4 × 1.8 cm.; each offset is pierced near its centre with a hole in which still remain remnants of knotted cord; wood very dark in color and strongly smelling of bitumen; uncial letters 1.8 to 1.1 cm. in height, first outlined with a brownish paint and then deeply and neatly incised with a sharp cutting edge.



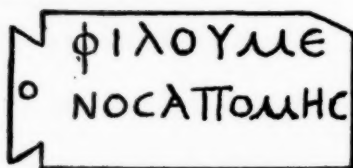
Κοστίνας ἰς Πανώ.

Κοστίνας: An entirely new name; probably in the gen. after (ταφή). There are two possible explanations of its origin. One (to my mind, the more satisfactory) would trace it to the fem. of a cognomen Costinus which appears once in an inscription on an amphora now in Bologna (Costini, CIL, III, 12010, 12) and once in a Sardinian sepulchral inscription (Cursiuo Costini f. ann. XX, De Vit, Onom., s. v.). The other would account for it as a plebeian contraction of Κωνσταντίνας, the reduction of Κωνσ . . . to Κοσ . . . being well attested; as in Κοσταντίνος (CIG, IV, 8786; 9287); Costantinus (CIL, VI, 2457; 3234; 32604; IX, †4660). I can find no instance, however, where the interior syllable . . . ταν . . . is dropped; furthermore, neither masc. nor fem. forms of the name are common before the fourth century, a period to which only one mummy-label has been attributed.¹

Translation: (Remains) of Costina (to be shipped) to Panopolis.

¹ Krebs, p. 37.

4. Mummy-label of some very soft wood, badly chipped and decomposed; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; a rectangle 12.8×6.6 mm., with a trapeziform offset at the left side; thickness 1.1 to .9 mm.; offset $1.9 \times .6$ mm., pierced at about its centre; letters uncial in general appearance, first sketched in outline with thin perpendicular incisions the edges of which were afterwards beveled off.



Φιλούμε | νος ἀπὸ Μηs.

Φιλούμενος: Apparently the first occurrence of this name in an Egyptian document, Φιλουμένη, on the contrary, being frequently found. For its use outside of Egypt see CIG I, 191, 13; 192, 5; 1278; Sozom., H. E., II, 22; Phot., Bibl., 177, 13. The Latin transliteration is noted in CIL, IV, 3185; 24136 (?); 24138; 24139.

ἀπὸ: In mummy-labels this word is often taken to indicate the place from which the mummy was to be shipped; but Wessely (Holztäf., p. 15) says, and rightly in my opinion: "Dass ἀπὸ in dem Sinne von 'gebürtig aus' gebraucht ist, erhellt aus dem beständigen Gebrauche der Papyrus und unserem Holztäfelchen (i. e. 4) das Πουπλιανὸς Φιλαδελφίτης bietet." Perhaps sometimes it may mean also "citizen of". Either interpretation would fully account for the place occupied in the formulae of the labels by the phrase with ἀπὸ, i. e. generally after the designation of parentage, as Παφιδῶμις Κολλούτου μητρὸς Σεγκολαντῶτος ἀπὸ Βορπαή (Spiegelberg, Rec. des Trav. XXVI, 1904, pp. 57-58; Cf. Milne, 9348; De Ricci, 5, 6 = Price Coll. of London, 2126, 2127); but occasionally before, as Πκῦρις Βήσιος ἀπὸ Νήσου Ἀπολλιναριάδος Σεπούθη (mummy-label in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. 10. 130. 1130).¹

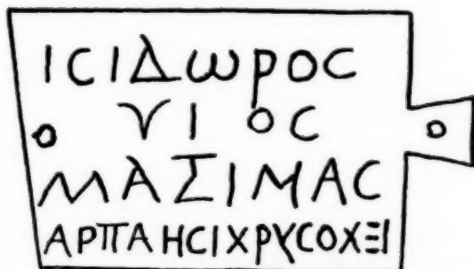
Μηs: A form hitherto unattested, but probably an abbreviation of Μη(τροπόλεω)s, i. e. Arsinoe, the capitol of the Arsinoite nome; for its location see the maps in Wessely, Topographie des Faijum, Denkschr. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl., L, 1904, 1. Other abbreviations of the word are found in the

¹ Allen, Five Mummy Labels, No. 2b.

papyri: μη . . . , Aeg. Urk., gr. Urk., II, 561, 1, 7, 11, 13, 16; μητ . . . ib., I, 217, recto, i, 9, 23; ii, 7, 10; ib., II, 652, 2; μητρο . . . , ib., I, 55, ii, 12; 57, i, 3; μητροπ . . . , ib., I, 110, 11; 115, i, 13; 116, i, 5. Generally, however, the full spelling is observed.

Translation: Philumenus of the Metropolis (Arsinoe).

5. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood: a document of identification; from the Fayûm; a trapezoid 15.7×9.2 mm., with a small trapeziform offset at the right; thickness uniformly 1.4 mm.; offset 1.8×1.8 mm., pierced near line of junction with the body of the label; there is a small hole on the horizontal axis and close to the left edge of the label; uncial letters 1.8 to 1.1 mm. in height, punched with a blunt point over painted outlines; in the first line the letters are obscured by particles of hardened resin or bitumen, while in the last line they are shallowly punched and badly worn.



'Ισιδωρος | υἱός | Μαξίμας | Ἀρπαήσι(ος) Χρυσοχέρ(ιον).

'Ισιδωρος: A very common name in this department and in papyri; as 'Ισιδώρου φιλοσόφου (Krebs, 33); cf. Milne, ind., and see Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud., I, p. 16*, name No. 101. This name and its fem. form are thoroughly Egyptian, built as they are on the name of the deity 'Ισις (Spiegelberg, ib., p. 47).

υἱός: In such connections the word may be used or omitted at will; as Κλαύδιος Κόλανθος υἱός Διοσκόρατος (De Ricci, 4); Δίδυμος υἱός Πατρίχουτος (Schmidt, p. 80); Πετρώνιος Διοσκόρου (Reich, Gr. 5); Τάλητος πατὴρ Ἰέρακος (Letronne, 18 bis); Πεκύσις Πεκύσιος μητὴρ Σενταῖτος (De Ricci, 6 = Price Coll., London, 2127).

Μαξίμας: found only here in mummy-labels, but occasionally in papyri; as Fayûm Towns, 125, 5.

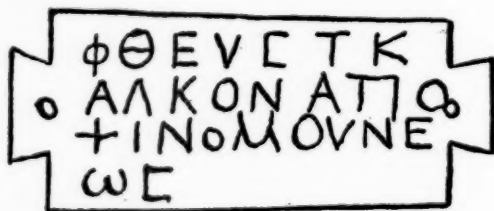
'Αρπαήσι: = Ἀρπαήσιος. Case-endings and case-constructions in Egyptian proper names are very frequently disregarded in the vulgar departments; as Ταψαεῖς Ἀρμύσις θυγατέρα Τατεμγωτι ἀδελφῆς Σενυρις καὶ Ἡρωνι (Reich, Gr. 20); cf. Krebs, 62; Wilcken, Gr.

Ostraka aus Aeg. und Nubien, II, Nos. 413-418, 420. The name is attested in mummy-labels in Milne, 9287, and in Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud. I, p. 5*, name No. 21 (= Guimet, 4), and is of very frequent occurrence in the ostraka (Wilcken, Gr. Ost., II, ind.). According to Spiegelberg (ib., p. 45) the name comes from the Demotic H^{ar}-p^a-es^e, and signifies "Son of Horus".

Χρυσοχερ(ιον): Or perhaps Χρυσοχε(ρίον). This cannot be χρυσοχοῦ, as the next to the last letter can be only ε, and as the last mark might be either ι or part of ρ. Χρυσοχέριος is found as a cognomen, "the gold-ringed" in Σαραπίων Ἑρμαῖσκον Χρυσοχερίου (Le Blant, 81); in CIG, III, 4970a it is uncertain. Cf. the cognomina Χρυσάμπυξ, Χρυσήνιος, Χρυσόστομος (Bechtel-Fick, Gr. Personennamen, p. 466; Pape, Gr. Eigennamen, s. vv.).

Translation: Isidorus son of Maxima (and) Harpaësis (called the) Gold-ringed.

6. Mummy-label of some coniferous wood; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; an almost regular rectangle 18.6 × 8.4-7.8 mm., with trapeziform offsets at the sides; thickness 1.8 mm.; right offset 4.6 × 1.6, and left, 4.6 × 1.9 mm., each pierced at the points where their lines of junction with the body of the label meet the horizontal axis; letters, mostly square, 1.5-1.7 mm. in height, roughly punched with a blunt point over painted outlines.



Φθεύς Τκ | αλκον ἀπο | Ψινομούνε | ως.

Φθεύς: Also in Reich, Dem.-Gr. I; Revillout, Planchettes bilingues trouvées à Sohag en Thébaïde, Rev. Égyptol., VI, 1891, pp. 43-45, 100-101; VII, 1892, pp. 29-38, No. 14; Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud., I, p. 36, name No. 406, where it is derived from the Demotic p-tew, "the wind".

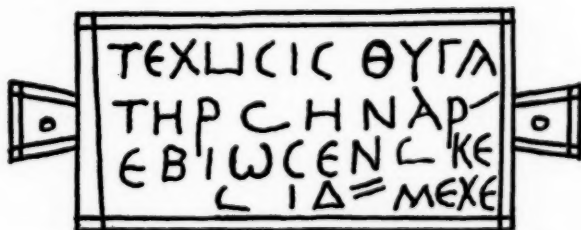
Τκαλκον: New and unexplained name.¹ The cross-bar of λ is drawn with paint only.

¹ Professor Spiegelberg writes me: "Ich kann Ihnen leider zu Τκαλκον keine Aufklärung geben. Wie sich aus den Sammlungen von Herrn Dr. Preisigke und meinem eigenen Material ergibt, ist der Name neu".

Ψινομούνεως: First appearance in mummy-labels; but better **Ψιναμούνεως**, from **Ψιναμούνης**, the name of an Arsinoïte village, which is not to be confused with **Ψεναμούνης**, the personal name, although sometimes spelt the same (Flinders Petrie Pap., 58, e, iii, 14; 117, a). Frequently the gen. of this word appears in **-ιος**, instead of **-εως**, the regular ending in Egyptian place-names in **-is** (Mayser, op. cit., p. 264). For **o = a** see ib., pp. 60-61; Schwyzler-Meisterhans, op. cit., pp. 16-20; Robinson, Inscr. from the Cyrenaica, A. J. A., XVII (1913), No. 2, p. 171, has a number of other valuable references on this phenomenon. **Ψεν-** represents the Old Egyptian **p3-ši-n**, "the sea of . . .", and often appears as a prefix in place-names; as **Ψιναρύω** (Wessely, Gr. Texte zur Topographie Aeg., 113, 18): **Ψιν** = **Ψιναρύω** (ib., 113, 1); **Ψινεύρεως** (ib., 15, 8; 114, 2; 138, 20); **Ψιντάχης** (Fayûm Towns, 119, 9, 33; 230; 248). **Ψιναμούνης** means "the sea of Ammon".¹

Translation: Phtheus Tkalkon of Psinamunis (Ammonsea).

7. Mummy-label of hard wood; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; rectangular, 18.4 × 7.4 mm., with trapeziform offsets at the sides; thickness uniformly 1.7 mm.; each offset 2.2 × 2.6 mm., pierced at about its centre; wood of an even deep brown; uncial letters very irregular in their dimensions, first painted in outline and then roughly but deeply incised; a plain border 5-8 mm. in width and consisting of a single incised line follows the entire contour of the label.



Τεχῶσις θυγάτηρ Σηναρ ἰ. ἐβίωσεν C κε. C ιδ' Μεχε(ίρ).

Τεχῶσις: This form of the name is found only here and in No. 9 in published mummy-labels; the same person may be referred to in both instances. For its occurrence in papyri see Ox. Pap., VIII, 1121, 3; Flinders Petrie Pap., [66, a, ii, 25; 117, d, 3]. The form **Τεχῶσις** is noted in Milne, 9341; Ox. Pap., III, 482, 24-25; and **Τεκῶς**, Kenyon, Gk. Pap. in Br. Mus., 1883, p. 154;

¹ I am indebted to Professor Spiegelberg for this explanation.

III, pp. 233 ff. Professor Spiegelberg writes: "Ich glaube, dass beide Namen identisch und Varianten von *Τεκῶσις* (Pap. Lond., III, IV, ind.) sind. Der Name bedeutet "die Aethiopin". Cf. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Stud.*, I, p. 26*, name No. 190.

θυγάτηρ: As in Reich, Gr. 20, quoted under n. on *Ἀρπαήσι*, No. 5; cf. use of *υἱός*, No. 5.

Σηναρ': = *Σεναρ*': perhaps an abbreviation of *Σεναρνώτιδος* or *Σεναρέτης*, the commonest of a large number of fem. names beginning in *Σεναρ*—, as . . . *γηνίς*, . . . *εμῆφίς*, . . . *έτη*, . . . *ίς*, . . . *μῦσις*, . . . *σιήσις*, . . . *τός*, . . . *νώτις* (Spiegelberg, *Dem. Stud.*, p. 28*, name No. 253, where see variants . . . *εὐθ(τ)ίς*, . . . *νῶτις*, . . . *νώς*). This name is read in Milne, 9392; Krebs, 64; 70; De Ricci, 5 = Price Coll., London, 2126. Reich (p. 16) derives it from the Demotic *Senharyotis*, which is composed of the roots *sen-Har-wod* and means "Daughter of Horus-is-healthy". For *η* = *ε* see Mayser, op. cit., pp. 62–64; Schwyzer-Meisterhans, op. cit., p. 19, § 10, 7, n. 96. For parallels to the sign of abbreviation (/) used here see Prentice, *Publ. of an Amer. Arch. Exped. to Syria*, III, nos. 120; 122; 181 and elsewhere passim, where the sign strongly resembles a sigma (ς); also Robinson's review of the work, *A. J. P.*, XXX, 2, p. 205.

ἰβίωσεν: Such details, common to mummy-labels in general, are found only here in this series.

L: Here = *έτη*, but in the next line = *έτους*.

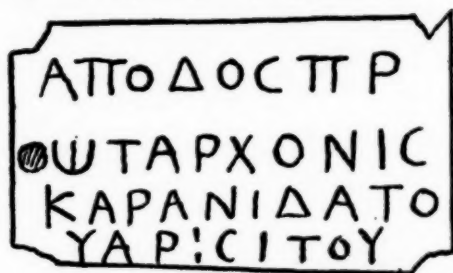
δ': The fourteenth year of an emperor whom we cannot identify (see, however, *infra*, p. 25). There are other similar instances in Egyptian documents of the omission of the name of the reigning emperor (or king); e. g., L *δ' Καίσαρος Φαρμο(ούθι) κ'* (Milne, 9202); L *ιη'' Μεχέιρ ια* (Krebs, 24; cf. *ib.*, 23, 27); L *ιβ Μεχέιρ κ* (Milne, 9201); see Hall, 58; 59. On the other hand, the name of the emperor is specified in Milne, 9355; 9358.

Μεχέ(ιρ): The sole instance of this abbreviation in published mummy-labels. This curtailment of the word and the waiving of the rule that prescribes indication of the day of the month are due mainly to lack of space; cf. L *ιβ Παῦνι* (De Ricci, 4); L *ε'' Μεσορή* (*ib.*, 6 = Price Coll., London, 2127).

Translation: Techosis daughter of Senar(yotis). She lived 25 years; she died in the month Mecheir of the year 14.

8. Mummy-label of some hard wood; a shipping-tag; from Kôm Ushîm in the Fayûm; a roughly cut rectangle 16.6 × 9–7 cmm., pierced at about the middle of the left side; average

thickness 1.3 cmm.; irregular letters 1.9–1.3 cmm. in height, deeply cut out with a sharp edge and rather epigraphical in character. This is the label by which Hogarth identified Kôm Ushîm as the ancient *Karavîs* (see p. 437, n. 4).



'Απόδος Πρ | ώταρχον ις | Καρανίδα το | υ 'Αρσι(νοί)του.

ἀπόδος: "Deliver" or "ship", as in *ἀπόδος* Ψορι τῷ νίῳ (Reich, Gr. 4); cf. *ib.*, Gr. 20b; Hall, 68; Wessely, *Holztäf.*, 3. Similarly *δός* in *δός* Σεν ρος θυγάτηρ Σεν Reich, Gr. 22b); *παράδος* (No. 9, *infra*; *βάλε* in *βάλε* ις Κερκή (Wilcken, *Arch. Anzeig.*, No. 2a); *ἐκβολήν ποιήσαι* (*ib.*, No. 2b). For *ἀπόδος* used in the same sense in the papyri see *Fayûm Towns*, 126, verso.

Πρώταρχον: = *Πρωτάρχῳ* (so in *Fayûm Towns*, p. 41). It is not probable that this is a pure acc., as it is against the regular usage for the name of the defunct to appear in the acc. after *ἀπόδος* or other expressions of like content. That *Πρώταρχον* was felt as a dat. is apparent when one compares it with the datives in the quotations of the previous note. This seems to be an instance of the encroachment of the acc. on the dat., a phenomenon that began to show itself about 300 A. D. (see A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, p. 341, 1348). *Πρώταρχος* occurs here for the first time on mummy-labels.

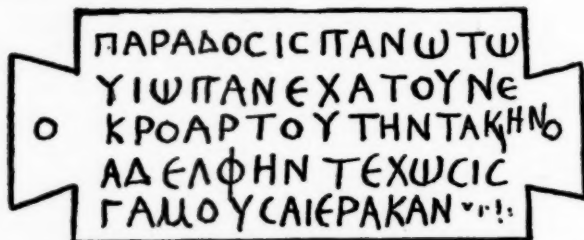
Καρανίδα: A village, often noted in papyri, situated in the north of the *Fayûm* (see Wessely, *Top.*, pp. 82 ff.).

τοῦ 'Αρσι(νοί)του (νομοῦ): I can find no other instance of this abbreviation; *'Αρσι*—, however, is very common in *Fayûm* papyri, e. g., *Fayûm Towns*, 24, 1; 26, 1; 31, 3; 32, 4; 33, 1; 41, 1, 1; ii, 1; 42, 2. For that reason I count —νοί— as the part of the word dropped, instead of —ινο—. In Wilcken, *Arch. Anz.*, No. 4, the reading is *τοῦ 'Αρσενοίτου*; but *ib.*, No. 1, it is *τοῦ 'Αρσιν[ο]ίτου νομοῦ*; cf. Wessely, *Holztäf.*, No. 1.

The engraver of our label by mistake began but did not finish an iota before the sigma of Ἀρσι(νοῖ)του.

Translation: Ship (to) Protarchus in Karanis of the Arsinoïte nome.

9. Mummy-label of soft pine; combined shipping-tag and document of identification; probably from Akhmîm; a rectangle 25 X 10.2 mm., with a trapeziform offset at each side; thickness .9-.7 mm.; right offset 5.8 X 2.9 mm.; left, 5.1 X 2.9 mm.; each offset pierced at about its centre; regular uncial letters 1.3 mm. in height, first traced in black ink or paint and then carefully punched with a narrow chisel.



Παρίδος ἰς Πανῶ τῶ(ι) υἱῶ(ι) Πανεχάτου νεκροάρτου τὴν τακην (= Τάκην or ταφήν?) | ἀδελφὴν Τεχώσις | γαμοῦσα Ἱέρακα ν

παράδος: "Deliver" or "ship", like ἀπόδος (No. 8; see n.). It appears elsewhere in mummy-labels only in . . . παράδες Ἀνθέσ-
τατι (Wilcken, Arch. Anz., No. 2a) where παράδες = παράδος.
Cf. τὸν χοῖρον καὶ τὰ δελφάκια τὰ β^π καλὰ παράδος Γρηγορίῳ τῷ μαγείρῳ
. . . (Papiri Greco-Egizii, II, Pap. Fiorentini, No. 166). See
No. 1, n. on † = Π.

Πανεχάτου: See No. 1, n.

νεκροάρτου: Cf. νεκροτάφον (No. 1).

τὴν τακην: Are we to read τακήν = ταφήν or Τάκην = Τάκιν? Acceptance of the first reading involves glossing over the obvious phonetic difficulty of κ for φ, a difficulty which the engraver may have felt himself, as the superfluous and partially corrective stroke on the κ seems to indicate. A parallel to this reading is seen in ἀπόδος τὴν ταφήν ἰς Πανώνπολιν (Schmidt, p. 80). Acceptance of the second reading is in violation of the custom of never putting the name of the deceased in the acc. after ἀπόδος and its synonyms (see No. 8, n. on Πρώταρχον). Moreover, there are no instances in this department of the article being used in this relation to a proper name. The occasional confusion of η and ι would account for Τάκην = Τάκιν, as Τρικατάνης = Τρικατάνις (Le Blant, 49); cf. the

converse phenomenon, Πανεχάτιν = Πανεχάτην (Nos. 1; 2). In the main, the first reading, in spite of the phonetic difficulty, squares more closely with our knowledge of the language of mummy-labels. For the name Τάκισ see Aeg. Urk., gr. Urk., II, 532, 5.

ἀδελφήν: If Τάκην = Τάκιν, the apposition is normal, but if τακήν = ταφήν, the apposition serves in the stead of a regular gen. Cf. Reich, Gr. 20, quoted in No. 5, n. on Ἀρπαήσι.

Τεχῶσις γαμοῦσα: See No. 7. n. Owing to the uncertainties involved in τήν τακην and to the compressed character of the language, several interpretations offer themselves here. One would read, "the remains of (his) sister", i. e. of Panechates' son, Τεχῶσις γαμοῦσα Ἰέρακα then following in the nom. as a detached identification in loose apposition to ἀδελφήν. This, however, lacks the support of probability, as the nature of the inscription would lead to the belief that Panechates' son was to receive these remains in his capacity as embalmer, and not as a relative of the deceased. Another interpretation would read, "the remains of the sister of Techosis", the wife of Hierax", Τεχῶσις γαμοῦσα being construed as genitives in intention, for not uncommonly does the gen. in Egyptian names stand in -ις for -ιος, thus coinciding in form with the nom. (Mayser, op. cit., pp. 117; 148; Robinson, op. cit., p. 170 and references); this coincidence may account for the form of γαμοῦσα. A third interpretation would be identical with the second, save that "Takis" would be substituted for "the remains of". Still another would regard γαμοῦσα as an acc. in agreement with τακην or ἀδελφήν. For the loss of final -ν, especially in the acc. sing. in -αν of the α-declension see Mayser, op. cit., p. 192; as the article generally accompanies the nouns thus affected, Mayser rightly holds this to be a phonetic, not a syntactical phenomenon. This last interpretation is weak in that it is contrary to the normal procedure of specifying the more important relationships first. In our translation we have adopted the second interpretation because it presents the fewest difficulties.

γαμοῦσα: See previous n. This relationship is elsewhere indicated by γυνή, as in Milne, 9348 and Hall, 55.

Ἰέρακα: Cf. Letronne, p. 234, 18 bis; Spiegelberg, Dem. Stud. I, p. 16*, name No. 93. Hall (p. 16) explains the name as a translation of the Egyptian Pabēkis, "the Hawk", i. e. Horus.

ν: Only ν is certain, probably the initial of a word in contracted form indicating the occupation or official standing of

Ἱέραξ, as νομογράφον (Milne, 9312); ναύκληρον (Le Blant, 54); or perhaps νομικόν, νοτάριον, νομάρχην (νόμαρχον).

Translation: Ship to Panopolis to the son of Panechates, the embalmer, the remains of the sister of Techosis, the wife of Hierax, the (lawyer?).

DATE.

Seeing that we know practically nothing of the conditions connected with the finding of these mummy-labels, we have, with three exceptions, only epigraphical characteristics as guides to dating them. On these grounds all save Nos. 7, 8 and 9 must be assigned indiscriminately to the second and third centuries of our era, the period to which belong all such objects with the rarest exceptions (see p. 437, n. 3). No. 7 can be dated somewhat more closely, as it bears an indication of date that restricts our attribution to those emperors of the above period who reigned at least fourteen years. The list of possible emperors includes Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus (who reckoned his accession from 176 when he joined Marcus Aurelius on the throne), Septimius Severus, Caracalla (who reckoned his accession from 198 when he joined Septimius Severus), Diocletian and Maximian (see Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani*, pp. 105-118). Of these we can set aside Trajan, as being probably too early, and Diocletian and Maximian as too late. We think it likely therefore that this mummy-label was prepared sometime in the period between the accession of Hadrian and the death of Caracalla, i. e. between 117 and 217 A. D. If the Techosis of this label and of No. 9 be the same person, then the two labels must have originated not many years apart. Presumably the latter is the older, as its text seems to warrant the inference that Techosis was still alive. Indeed it is only natural to identify the remains of the dead by a reference to living kin. In No. 8 the substitution of the acc. for the dat. of the ind. obj. is very likely to point to a year subsequent to 300, and in any case to a point not long prior. This label therefore can safely be attributed to the close of the third or to the early part of the fourth century A. D.

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IV.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM LORYMA AND VICINITY.

Loryma has long been identified with practical certainty. Mentioned by Thukydides (VIII, 43, 1) as port of refuge for the Athenian ships in 410 B. C., described by Diodorus Siculus (XIV, 83, 4) as the rendezvous for Konon's great fleet of more than ninety sail in 395 B. C. just previous to the naval battle off the coast, it is located definitely by Strabo (XIV, 2, 4 and 14) as lying between Physkos on the east and Kynossema and Syme on the west. Save the small Port Serse the only harbor on this stretch of coast is Port Aplotheke which must be the ancient Loryma.

The entrance to this excellent harbor is guarded by two fortifications. On the right as one approaches, that is, almost due east, stands a tower of late workmanship, now in a dilapidated condition; but on the west is an elaborate castle, 350 m. long by 38 m. wide, still very well preserved and of a good Greek period. Probably it was constructed by the Rhodians at the end of the fourth century after the attack on Rhodes by Demetrios Poliorketes in 305 B. C. had been successfully repulsed. From the entrance the harbor runs in a northwesterly direction for nearly a mile terminating in three small beaches which are the outlets of three valleys, in each of which considerable ruins are visible.

This site has been visited occasionally in modern times. Leake paused here in the course of his extensive travels in 1824 (*Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*, pp. 222 ff.); while somewhat later, in 1840, Ludwig Ross made a careful examination of the ruins (*Reisen auf den Gr. Inseln*, 4, pp. 46 ff.), but found no inscriptions or ancient objects apart from undecorated altars and bases and architectural blocks of buildings. Other explorers have been more successful. Otto Benndorf in 1881 spent two days in the harbor and later published several sketches of the fortification walls as well as one dedicatory inscription (*Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, I, pp. 20 ff.). Additional inscriptions were found and copied by Mr. Theo. Bent, and published by Mr. E. L. Hicks in *Journal Hell. Stud.* IX, 1888, pp. 82 ff., and X, 1889, pp. 49 ff., while more recently the inscriptions from this district have been

collected by H. van Gelder in *Mnemosyne*, XXIV, 1896, pp. 184 ff., and included in Collitz and Bechtel, *G. D. I. III. 1*, nos. 4260 ff. Finally in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1907, pp. 209 ff., and 1911, pp. 52 ff., the indefatigable Greek antiquarians of Symi, Messrs. Chaviara, published a number of new inscriptions from here and other parts of the Rhodian Peraea. In the spring of 1912 I spent some weeks in the harbor with authority from the Ottoman Government to make *sondages*, and in consequence had the opportunity to find and copy a few inscriptions hitherto unpublished as well as to correct some others long since known.

1. Loryma, in the westernmost of the three valleys, near the sea, in an enclosed area behind the house of Michael Kypriotis, a rectangular limestone basis, length, 0.95 m.; width, 0.79 m.; height, 0.37 m. The top surface of the block has a number of cuttings, perhaps to accommodate a figure seated in a chair. In the centre is an ellipse, length, 0.45 m.; width, 0.36 m., on each side of which are cuts of rectangular shape, with a larger rectangle behind, while in front on each side of the ellipse is a small circular cutting. The inscription on the front of the block has letters 0.018 m. high.

TIMΑΣΙΘΕΟΣ Ἀριστῆος Ἀριστύλλου
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ Ἀπόλλωνι

The letters are carefully executed and belong to a fairly early period, perhaps the beginning of the third century B. C. Near where this inscription was found is a circular basis dedicated to Apollo, published by Messrs. Chaviara in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1911, p. 55, no. 25, cp. also *ibid.* 1907, p. 211, no. 3, and in the same field I found a fragment of an inscription also bearing the name of Apollo. But a few meters distant from these inscriptions are the foundations of a large Byzantine church which consist of great architectural blocks of stone and marble. A small part of this area is now occupied by a tiny chapel built by the aged Michael as a dedication to St. Michael, the Archangel, and in this area was discovered a marble basis sculptured on both ends in the style of the sixth or early fifth century which I hope shortly to publish. All these indications then point to the existence of a temple of Apollo on this site, in whose honor the offerings were made.

2. Loryma, about an hour's distance from the harbor, near the modern village of Karamaka, in a field on the slope of the

hill facing the island of Symi, a limestone basis with a cutting in the top for a stele. Length at the top, 1.395 m.; height, 0.53 m.; width, 0.70 m. Height of letters, 0.025 m.

ΛΡΑ ΛΙΩΝΟΣΥΠΕΡΘΥΜΟΝΠΟΛΕΜΙΣΞΑΝ
ΚΡΥΠΤΕΙΓΑΙΑΠΑΤΡΙΞΤΟΝΟΜΑΔΕΥΡΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ

[Θυγατ]έρα [Κ]λίωνος ὑπέρθυμον Πολέμισσαν
κρύπτει γαῖα πατρίς, τ' ὄνομα δ' Εὐρυκράτης

Her country's earth hides Klion's daughter, valiant Polemissa, Eurykrates (her husband) has her fame.

The epigram in honor of Polemissa is written in good letters of the third to the second century B. C. The elegiac distich is metrically almost correct. The ὄνομα should be οὄνομα found frequently in Homer; the alpha of πατρίς, though of common quantity, is usually long by position in the Epic, the phrase appearing often in Homer as πατρίδα γαῖαν. The restoration of the first word seems certain, and a kappa is the only letter that could be supplied to complete satisfactorily the name of the father. This is not a common name, though four examples are cited by Pape-Benseler, Gr. Eigennamen, s. v. The name Polemissa is not given in Pape-Benseler. It would indicate that the girl had shown early signs of militancy which later did not belie themselves, to judge from the epithet ὑπέρθυμος. Polemoussa, an Amazon attendant of Penthesileia at Troy, figures twice in Quintus Smyrnaeus (I 42, 531) but without qualifying adjective, though her companion Hippothoe is described as ἐρίθυμος (Quint. I 532). Nowhere in the Epic is ὑπέρθυμος applied to a woman, though it is used to designate many heroes, as Achilles, Diomedes, Herakles and others; it is also found several times qualifying the Greeks and is a common epithet of the Trojans. Polemissa thus is admitted to valiant company.

The arrangement of this hexameter line which begins with the father's name and concludes with that of the daughter may be compared with an epigram from Rhodes, I. G. XII-1, 806, Ἀντιπάτροιο θύγατρα νέην ἔτι Καλλίκλειαν, except that in our case the first two words have been transposed. The phrase κρύπτει γαῖα = to bury, to be buried, in one form and construction or another is quite common both in prose and poetry. The word ὄνομα seems to have here the meaning of "good report", "glory", used in a somewhat similar sense to that in Od. 4. 710; 13. 248;

24. 93. A good example of its use signifying the same that survives the body dead is found in Theog. 245 f.: οὐδέ ποτ' οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολείς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις | ἀφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα, beside which may be cited a distich of Tyrtaeus, 12, 31 f.

3. Loryma, on the path, half-way to Phenikeh, near some pyramidal bases standing in situ, a round marble basis with a frieze encircling the top composed of small bulls' heads, set 0.11 m. apart, joined by fillets. From this frieze are suspended wreaths at intervals. The frieze around the bottom is a well executed maeander pattern. The height of the basis is 0.77 m.; the diameter of the bottom, 0.60 m. The height of the letters, 0.02 m.

ΔΑΜΑΛΥΚΑΩΝΟΣ	Δαμαλυκίωνος
ΚΑΙΤΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ	καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς
ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΔΟΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΣΣΑΣ	'Αντιοχίδος 'Αντιοχίσσας
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΔΑΜΑΚΩΟΥ	καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Δαμακώου

The script is of the third to second century B. C. The names Δαμαλυκίων and Δαμακῶος I have not found elsewhere and such compounds with δαμα- are not common. The second element of the first word is derived from λύκος, but the meaning of the second compound is not so clear. As the island of Kos is but a few miles distant the -κωος may contain a reference to that.

The name 'Αντιοχίς is not rare, see I. G. XII-1, 382, 403, 544, and elsewhere, but its connection with 'Αντιόχισσα is new. This chorographic feminine from a masculine 'Αντιοχεύς referring to an inhabitant of one of the many Antiochs occurs several times, see I. G. XII-1, 165, 404, in neither of which places however is the word completely preserved. In the Attic corpus are better illustrations, I. G. II-3, 2793, 2802, 2812 and others. It is a frequent practice in inscriptions to add the name of their city to women's names, which are given sometimes with and sometimes without mention of their fathers, see especially I. G. XII-1, 544, 'Αντιοχίς 'Ροδία.

4. Phenikeh, ancient Phoinix, in the lower village, about 3½ hours' walk from Loryma, built into the house of Mevlud by the side of the hearth, a block of limestone, height, 0.40 m.; width, 0.50 m.; thickness, 0.185 m. Height of the letters, 0.02 m.

ΕΥΦΡΑΝΟΡΙΣΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΩΝΟΣ	Εὐφρανορίς 'Αριστοφώνος
ΓΥΝΑΔΕΙΕΡΩΝΥΜΟΥ	γυνὰ δὲ 'Ιερωνύμου

The letters are probably also of the third century B. C. The name is the feminine of the common masculine *Εὐφράνωρ*, perhaps the father's name has lost its *ρ*, as the genitive of *Ἀριστοφῶν* is *Ἀριστοφῶντος*. The formula for adding the husband's name is of frequent occurrence, see in the Rhodian Corpus, I. G. XII-1, 104, 193, 197, etc.

5. Phenikeh, a small block of limestone broken at the top and bottom, but complete at each side, height, 0.235 m.; width, 0.195 m.; thickness, 0.08 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m.

ΑΡΞΙΝΗ	<i>Ἀρσίνη</i>
ΧΡΗΣΤΑΧΑΙΡΕ	<i>χρηστὰ χαίρει</i>

The name seems to be a shortened form of *Ἀρσινόη*. On *Ἀρσίνος*, *Ἀρσίνος* as alternate forms yielding the patronymic *Ἀρσινίδας* see Bechtel in *Genethliakon*, Essays in honor of Carl Robert, p. 71. The inscription repeats a phrase frequent on sepulchral monuments.

6. Phenikeh, a limestone basis with an aperture in the top for the insertion of a stele built into a ruined building constructed entirely of ancient blocks about half-way between the lower and upper villages, the same building in which are the two inscriptions published by Messrs. Durrbach and Radet in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* X, 1886, p. 258, nos. 4 and 5. Height of the stone, 0.745 m.; width, 0.64 m.; thickness, 0.34 m. Height of the letters, 0.025 m.

ΚΛΕΑΓΟΡΑ	<i>Κλεαγόρα</i>
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7. Phenikeh Acropolis, a stele cut in the solid limestone rock decorated by a moulding at the top and bottom. The height of the stone between the mouldings is 1.39 m.; the width is 0.705 m. to 0.69 m. as the stele tapers slightly. This inscription was published in 1886 by Durrbach and Radet, l. c., pp. 252 ff. and is reproduced by van Gelder in *Mne.* XXIV, 1896, pp. 184 ff. as well as in his collection of Rhodian inscriptions in *G. D. I.* III, 1, no. 4262. Three visits to Phenikeh during my work at Loryma in the spring of 1912 enabled me to study more carefully this stone and to make so many corrections on the previous copy that an amended version seems desirable. The letters read by Durrbach and Radet which were not visible to me are underlined.

Τοῖδε τοῦ δάμου ψαφισμένου κατασκευάσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διονύσου
ἐπαγγείλαντο δώσειν χρήματα δωρεὰν

(a)

- Νικασαγόρας Βουλακρίνευς
τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ ὁ ναὸς
5 καὶ τὸ τέμενος κατασκευάσται
Ῥόδιππος Νικαγόρα ΗΔΔ
Ἀγέμαχος Μενεμάχου
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν νιῶν Η
Χαρμοκλῆς Χαρμαντίδα Η
10 Ἀλεξίων Πεισαγόρα
Τεισαγόρας Ἀριστομβρότου Η
Σιμυλίνος Μιννίωνος
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν νιῶν Η
Ἰέρων Ἀριστομβρότου Η
15 Ἰερώνυμος Ἀριστομβρότου Η
Κλεῦδαμος Θευδώρου
Μέγων Δαμοξένου Η
Τιμασίθεος Τιμασιάνακτος Η
Κλευμένης Κλεοβούλου
20 Πείσαρχος Πεισαγόρα ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν νιῶν
Δαμοσθένης Ἱεροφάνευσ
[ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ καὶ Μ[ε]γώνος...μου
Σατυρίων
25 ὑπὲρ Εὐφράνορος καὶ ὑ[πὲρ]
Τιμοτέλεως
... ατ ... ὑπὲρ
... πα ...
... λεξιλ ...
30 καὶ τῶν νιῶν
... ατῆς Τιμοθέου Π
Δαμόνικος Νικατορίδ[ε]νε
Ἱεροφάνης Μέγωνος Π
Ἱεροτέλης Ἀγισίππου
35 Τιμασιάναξ Τιμασιθέου Π
Θαρσιάδας Θρασυβούλου Π
Βουλακρίνης Νικασαγόρα
Ἀριστοκράτης Εὐφράνορος

(b)

- Σώπατρος Θρασυβούλου Π
Φιλοκράτης Ἱεροφάνευσ Π
Ἀριστοκράτης Ἀριστομάχου
Ξενοκλῆς Ἀναξίλα ΔΔΔ
Ἱεροκλῆς Τιμα ΔΔΔ
Ἱππαρχος
Ἱεροκλεῦς ΔΔΔ
... τοῖας Ἀναξίλα ΔΔΔ
... κρατῆς Ἀγισ[ε]δάμου ΔΔΔ
Ἀριστόμβροτος Ἱερωνύμου ΔΔΔ
Εὐφράνωρ Εὐφραγόρα ΔΔΔ
Ἀρισταγόρας Κλ[ε]υφάντου ΔΔΔ
Χαρμύλος Χαιρήμονος ΔΔΠ
Εὐφράνωρ Ἀσκληπιάδα ΔΔΠ
Ἱεροτέλης Ἀλεξιδάμου ΔΔΠ
Βουλαγόρας Βουλάρχου ΔΔΠ
Ἀπολλώνιος Χαιρήμονος ΔΔΠ
Π[ολύ]κλειτος Τιμαράτου καθ' ὑπο-
θεσίαν δὲ Βουλαγόρα ΔΔΠ
Σιμυλίνος Εὐφραγόρα ΔΔ
Τιμαχίδας Εὐφράνορος ΔΔ
Μενέστρατος Μενεστράτου ΔΔ
Κ[α]νθαρος Ἀρμέ[ν]ιος ΔΔ
[Ε]ὐφάνης Σίμου ΔΔ
Κλεῦστρατος [Ε]ὐφραγόρα ΔΔ
Ἀνάξαρχος Εὐρυκράτης ΔΔ
Ἀπολλώνιος Στρατονίκευς ΔΔ
Ἀνταγόρας Ἀντικράτης ΔΔ
Νικασιμένης Κλεισαγόρα ΔΔ
Κλεώνυμος Τιμασιπόλιος
τοῦ Κλευμένης ΔΔ
Ἀγισίππος Ἀριστοβούλου ΔΔ
Κλεαγόρας Νικασαγόρα ΔΔ

(a)	(b)
Δαμάτριος Ἀριστοβούλου ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ	Κλεύστρατος Μενεστράτου ΔΔ
40 καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Π	'Αρετάνυμος Ἀριστοδρόμου ΔΔ
Πύθιππος Ἐπικράτειος Π	Τιμόστρατος Κλεισιμβροτίδα ΔΔ
'Αναξίλας Ἀρετωνύμου Π	Εὐφάνης Ἀριστοκρίτου ΔΔ
'Ιερώνυμος Ἀρχήνακτος Π	
Μενέμαχος Νικασαγόρα Π	
45 Πύθιππος Ἀπολλωνίου κατὰ γένεσιν δὲ Πύθωνος ΔΔΔ	
Δαμάτριος Δωριτίμου ΔΔ Π	
Διοσκουρίδας Τιμομάχου ΔΔ	
Τιμασίπολις Τιμομάχου ΔΔ	
50 Δαμόξενος Μέγωνος ΔΔ	

Lines 1 and 2. The reading of the first two lines which comprise the caption of the inscription is certain; each letter can be wrested from the stone and each is visible in my impression. No trace of any letter appears to the right or to the left of the second line as given above, and this line is made designedly shorter to separate clearly the two lines of announcement which run across the stone from the list of subscribers arranged in two columns below. The Doric form of the participle *ψαφισαμένον* is correct as conjectured by van Gelder, l. c., but the xi appears without exception in the inscription with the vertical bar *Ξ*, and not *Ξ* as given by van Gelder. This use of *κατασκευάζω* is common, see I. G. II-1, 489 b (add., p. 419) 21, 29 and Dittenberger, Syll. 601, 29; 928, 17. For the phrase *χρήματα δωρεάν* cp. I. G. II-1, 1b, 32 (p. 393) and for a similar use of *δωρεάν*, I. G. XII-1, 736, 3, 10, 11, and *Inschriften von Priene*, 112, 77; 113, 76.

Line 3a. This line is complete in my version. Nikasagoras is the father or son of Boulakrines in line 37 where the name *Βουλακρίνης* is correctly read by van Gelder after Bechtel-Fick's conjecture, *Personennamen*, p. 81, though given wrongly by Durrbach and Radet as *Βουλαρρίνης*. Line 3b. This name is found in another inscription at Phenikeh, G. D. I. 4263, 26.

Line 4 too is fully legible in both columns. The sense of 4a and 5a was obvious as pointed out by Durrbach and Radet, but they did not attempt to supply the lacuna; the verb is repeated from line 1 and in the singular agrees with the nearer subject. In 4a the dative of the relative has iota adscript. In 5b the name has been recovered though not the amount given. This

line has been set in from the margin of its column because of the crowding of the long line 5a. 6a and b have been completed. 7a, the father's name is clear, and in 8a the completion of the phrase. In 9a and 11a the father's name can be read as well as the amount. 12a, the father's name has been deciphered. 13a, 14a, 15a are complete so that van Gelder's conjecture in Mne. XXIV, p. 186, of *Ἀριστοκράτης* in 15a must be abandoned. In 14b the letters ΗΣ appear after ρ in the father's name proving it to be *Ἀγησιδάμου* and not *Ἀγαθοδάμου* as conjectured by Durrbach and Radet. 15b like 15a is complete. 16a, my squeeze shows the name of the father, and 16b is entirely corrected. 17a, the recovery of the father's name here indicates that this man is either father or son of the contributor mentioned in line 50. In 17b part of the lambda and upsilon can be made out so that the second name must be correct as given. 19a and b, though quite misread before, are given clearly in my impression, and 21a is also legible. 22a, at the end of this line there is not space for *ὑπέρ* before the beginning of 22b, and that word, therefore, must have been placed before *αὐτοῦ* in line 23a, though the neighboring lines have been pushed in from the left-hand margin apparently because of an old break in the stone which developed presumably after the inscription was begun. At the end of 23a there is no space for the letters . . . *μου* inserted there by Durrbach and Radet, who may have misread them from 23b where in my copy the first letter is clearly Π and therefore I have supplied *Πολύκλειτος*. The first syllable in the second word is not *τειμ*, the difficulty of which was recognized by van Gelder, but *τιμ*. Line 24a, *Σατυρίων* is clear on my impression, thus rendering impossible van Gelder's conjecture *Ζωπυρίων* made on the basis of the former reading ΣΤΥΡΙΩΙ. The names in 26b and 41b occur in an inscription from Rhodes, I. G. XII-1, 1442, 34 and 35, but the Rhodian inscription is dated in the first century while ours can not be later than early in the third century. 31b, the theta supplied by Durrbach and Radet should be rho, confirming van Gelder's conjecture in Mne. XXIV, p. 187. In 32b the word *Στρατονίκευς* questioned by van Gelder is given clearly in my copy. 34b, *Νικασιμένης* is correct, not *Νικο*, read by D. and R. 36a, the first letter is theta, so that van Gelder's suspicion is confirmed, but his alternative conjecture *Ἀλξιάδας* is ruled out. The name *Θαρσιάδας* occurs at Rhodes, I. G. XII-1, 1442, 8, and elsewhere. 39a, *ὑπέρ* is clear on the stone, *περί* given by D. and R. was just a

misreading. 41a, Πύθιππος not Εῤθιππος here as well as on another inscription at Phenikeh, G. D. I. 4263, 34. It might be appropriate to add here that in G. D. I. 4263, 28 the reading of the stone is Βουλακλῆς not Βουλευκλῆς of D. and R's version. In 42b the father's name is spelled with an iota instead of alpha, Ἀριστοκρίτου. 43a, the reading Ἀρχήνακτος is clear, cp. Ἀγήνακτος on an inscription found near Phenikeh, G. D. I. 4261a, and Ἀρχήνασσα on a Rhodian inscription I. G. XII-1, 194. 46a, the name is Πύθωνος; there is no iota and van Gelder's attempt to transpose it is fruitless. A slight injury to the stone misled Durrbach and Radet.

8. Marmarice, ancient Physkos, a marble basis with a moulding around the top and bottom, and unfinished at the back, length, 0.187 m.; width, 0.165 m.; height, 0.133 m. On the top of the stone is a worked depression to hold a statuette, the length of which is 0.125 m. and the width 0.095 m. On the front the space between the mouldings is 0.065 m. high where the inscription is written in letters 0.015 m. high.

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΑ	Ἱερόκλεα
ΕΚΑΤΑΙΕΥΧΑΝ	Ἐκάτα εὐχάν

The letters are of the second century. The stone was said by the peasant who had it to have been brought from the interior, and therefore it is possible that it was an offering made at the famous temple of Hecate in Lagina close to Stratonikeia, mentioned by Strabo, XIV, 2, 25. For a discussion of this sanctuary and inscriptions from it see Newton, Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae II-2, pp. 554 ff. and in appendix inscriptions Nos. 62 ff. See also B. C. H. V, 1881, pp. 185 ff.

9. Knidos, a small block of limestone found at the tomb of Jason on the hill of tombs to the east of the city, length, 0.235 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.085 m. Height of letters, 0.015 m.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ	Ἀπολλοδώρου
ΤΟΥ	τοῦ
ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΥΣ	Τιμοκλεῦς

The Jason inscription on the altar in this tomb is published by W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, II, p. 459.

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Postscript.

The latest number of *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1913, parts 1 and 2, came to my hands too late to enable me to take notice of the publication there, pp. 1 ff., by Messrs. Chaviara, of inscriptions from the Rhodian Peraea, among which are four, nos. 78, 80, 82, 89, that are discussed in my article. Of the differences in reading one instance must be mentioned. In no. 80 = my no. 2 Messrs. Chaviara supply a tau after sigma in the last word of the first line, reading *πολεμιστάν*, which gives a totally different meaning to the epigram. The stone is much injured at this place, but I copied from it a sigma and can see the two upper bars on my squeeze. The impression, however, has become somewhat worn through handling and does not now show the entire letter. The last letter of the second line, sigma, omitted by Messrs. Chaviara, is clear on my squeeze.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Elegies of Albius Tibullus. The Corpus Tibullianum, edited with Introduction and Notes on Books i, ii, and iv, 2-14, by KIRBY FLOWER SMITH, Professor of Latin in The Johns Hopkins University. New York: American Book Company, 1913.

'Eine Erneuerung des veralteten Kommentars von L. Dissen (Gött. 1835) ist ein Bedürfniss'. These words of Eduard Norden (Einl. in die Alt., i, 1912, p. 437) are a concise expression of a want long felt. Several excellent texts of Tibullus exist, selections for use in schools have been well edited by such scholars as K. P. Schulze, K. Jacoby, and J. P. Postgate, but the complete commentaries of Martinon (1895) and Némethy (1905) were half hearted attempts from which scholars turned back with relief to Dissen. Meantime valuable contributions to our knowledge of Tibullus have continued to accumulate until the need of an edition which should present the results in scholarly form has become urgent. Professor Smith has answered the call. At last we have a real edition—an edition which supersedes that of Dissen and becomes the standard interpretation of Tibullus.

The purpose of the book more than justifies its bulk. At first thought an introduction of 93 pages and a commentary of 343 pages on a Latin text of 48 pages seem entirely disproportionate. But to all who care for a real interpretation of Tibullus, his position in the history of elegy, and his relation to ancient and modern poetry, Professor Smith's book will seem none too large. On the contrary the reader will regret the loss of much valuable material when he learns (p. 9) that the volume even in its present generous size is the result of rigid condensation and excision. Among other losses are a full *apparatus criticus* and a complete list of authorities.

The form of the book is conditioned by the requirements of a series 'edited for use in schools and colleges,' but since after all Professor Smith's appeal is primarily to scholars and advanced students the world over, there will be a feeling of regret that the book could not appear in a form more in harmony with its character—with a page large enough to admit a critical apparatus and notes beneath the text.

The text, which includes the entire Corpus Tibullianum with the exception of the two Priapea, is based on that of Hiller's

edition, Leipsic (Tauchnitz), 1885. Professor Smith makes no claim of originality for his text; he has collated no manuscripts (this has been adequately done by others), and he makes no conjectures. Nevertheless every real commentator must constitute his own text, and even when the manuscript materials have been supplied by others the task requires nice judgment. The choice of Hiller's text (1885) as a basis was wise. It is convenient and accessible, it contains the manuscript readings, and it has the necessary quality of sane conservatism. It is superior in one or more of these points to each of the other texts which were available: Hiller's of 1893 in the *Corpus poetarum latinorum*, vol. i, Postgate's in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, 1905, Haupt-Vahlen's sixth edition, 1904 (the seventh published by Helm, 1912, appeared too late for Professor Smith's use), and Cartault's, Paris, 1909.

The process of condensation to which Professor Smith has subjected his material has inevitably produced errors and inconsistencies and the parts concerned with the manuscripts and the text seem to have suffered especially. I record these, following in general the order in which they occur. The remarks on Textual Tradition (Intro. § vi) are sometimes misleading and sometimes inconsistent with the Appendix. Is there other evidence than Norden's (*Kunstpr.*,¹ p. 724) that in all likelihood we owe a special debt of gratitude to Hildebert, † 1134, for the preservation of Tibullus from the 9th to the 13th century? Hildebert's influence is possible, not 'likely'. He was 'a famous Latin poet and teacher', a great admirer of the classical poets, and his elegiac verse is remarkably pure, but he does not mention Tibullus, and the purity of his elegiacs is probably due to the influence of Ovid, which was incomparably greater in the middle ages than that of Tibullus. At p. 89 we read that the *Codex Eboracensis* 'is occasionally of some value', but that 'other manuscripts of this family . . . have no independent value', and (p. 90) 'the exact position of the *Guelferbytanus* in our textual tradition is not altogether certain'. This seems to imply that no members of the ψ group, the inferior manuscripts, except possibly γ (cod. Ebor.) and g (Guelf.) have a value independent of A and V, the two best of the complete manuscripts. Such a view would mean that no excellent reading of ψ not in AV is pure, i. e. comes from the archetype by a route different from that of AV, but that all such readings are due to conjectures of the Itali. It seems to me unsafe to adopt this view at present. Excluding agreements with Fr. Par. more than 60 readings of ψ are accepted by Hiller (1885), Vahlen⁶, and Postgate (1905) in the first book (nearly half the *Corpus*) and more than 20 such readings are accepted in addition by one or more of these editors. Thus over 80 or, if we substitute Hiller (1893) for his text of 1885, over 100 of these readings are either right or worthy of notice. Now it is just possible that all these good readings may

be conjectures, but it is far more likely that some at least are derived from the archetype through a copy or copies now lost. So too the account of the Freising and Paris Excerpts (Fr. Par.) is misleading because it has been condensed into one paragraph (p. 89). All the statements are not true of Fr., for the two collections differ in important details. It is not correct to say that the editors of *both* excerpts 'do not scruple to Bowdlerize'. I can find no certain case of Bowdlerizing in Fr.; on the contrary Bowdler would hardly have excerpted III. 2, 1-2:

Qui primus caram iuveni carumque puellae
Eripuit iuvenem ferreus ille fuit,

or I. 2, 19.

Illa docet molli furtim derepere lecto.

It is true that Fr. occasionally cite from the midst of an erotic passage without representing the erotic context (I. 6, 33-34), but the same conciseness is observed where no erotic content is at hand (I. 1, 25, etc.). The excerptor of Par., on the other hand, actually changes erotic allusions to a form not offensive to monkish ears (III. 3, 32; II. 4, 29, etc.). Again many of the Fr. excerpts are single words—which is not true of Par.—so that it is not certain that all of Fr. come from *florilegia*. Nor is it by any means certain that Fr. 'enjoyed a wide popularity from the eleventh to the fourteenth century'. The dates assigned to Fr. and Par. in the Introd. (p. 89) are respectively the eleventh and twelfth (or thirteenth) centuries, but in the Appendix (p. 527) the tenth and eleventh centuries. The former statement is the one usually made by experts who have inspected them.¹

The brief statements (p. 90) about editions need some revision and expansion. I. G. Huschke's ed. of 1814 had notes on only three elegies (I, 1, 3 and 7). Huschke's complete ed. appeared in Leipsic in 1819. Not enough credit is given to Baehrens (1876-1878). His 'great service lay' not so much, I should say, 'in demonstrating the position and value in our textual tradition of the Ambrosianus' as in virtually discovering the two mainstays of the text (AV), although he wrongly set g above them.

One cannot help regretting that Professor Smith did not retain in some form an *adnotatio critica* containing just the bare manuscript variants. As it is we find in the Appendix a mere record of the variations from Hiller's text (1885) and even so it is not always clear what Hiller's reading is, for the latter's name is omitted from many of the readings and the assumption that the *second* reading cited in each record is Hiller's does not work out, since at I. 7, 49 two readings (centum ludis ψ *Smith*; centum ludos *A*) are printed, neither of which is Hiller's. So at II. 3,

¹ Postgate, 1905, assigns Fr. to the 10th, and Par. to the 11th, and Hiller 1893, both to the eleventh.

14c and III. 4, 26 Hiller's reading is not given at all, and at IV. 1, 1 Smith's own reading is not printed. Two passages are recorded as varying from Hiller in which Prof. Smith agrees with Hiller: I. 10, 50 and II. 3, 34, where both mark a lacuna. In two others the Appendix misleads one as to Hiller's text: I. 6, 72, where Hiller is said to have in *medias propriasque*, but actually has *in medias proripiarque*, and II. 6, 45 where Smith omits *vetat Hiller*. There is no record of the fact that Smith differs from Hiller in the line numbering of the Panegyric from v. 113 (= Hiller 112^a) to the end. Hiller's final judgment on the text is contained in his edition of 1893, which is still more conservative than that of 1885. It is significant of Professor Smith's attitude toward the text that he agrees with Hiller in ten of the passages in which the latter in 1893 adhered more closely to the manuscripts.

Professor Smith's choice of Hiller as a guide indicates his sympathy with that scholar's attitude toward those two nuisances of Tibullian studies, transposition and strophic symmetry. He makes the one transposition (iv, 4) which is universally admitted and nowhere discovers couplets arranged in 'sevens' or 'nines' or what you will, whereas in some of the most recent editions (Postgate's 'Selections', 1903, and Cartault's text, 1909) there are survivals of the time honored practice of transposition. The ghost of Scaliger has been hard to lay. And yet the logic of the transpositionists has had one good effect: it has forced the defenders of the manuscript order to seek arguments, and in this way they have attained a finer understanding of the development of the elegiac mood.

On details of text Professor Smith's judgment is generally sound, but there are, of course, decisions with which one disagrees. In i, 3, 4, for example, editors have always been divided between *Mors modo nigra AV* and *Mors precor atra ψ Smith*, and as Cartault is fond of saying, 'La décision est délicate!' Undoubtedly *Mors atra* is the regular phrase, but exactly for that reason its presence in ψ creates suspicion. Niger on the other hand, though not applied anywhere to *Mors*, is used symbolically of death by Lygdamus iii, 3, 5, a passage based in general on this, cf. Hor. Sat. I. 9, 73. I should not venture to reject the reading of AV—yet. V. 17 *aves dant omina dira AV Smith* *aves aut omina dira ψ Hiller, etc.* The shift from the direct statement *aves dant, etc. (17)* to the indirect *Saturni sacram me tenuisse diem (18)* is very hard, especially in Tibullus. The support cited (ii, 5, 71-78 and several passages from Livy) contains nothing very much like this and *causor* seems nowhere in Latin to introduce a direct statement (Thes. s. v.). It seems better to follow ψ in 17 and read in 18 *Saturnive* supporting the *aut . . aut . . -ve* by examples from the Thes. s. v. V. 86 *colo AV Smith colu Fr. Hiller*. The high authority of *Fr.* and the fact that it is *lectio difficilior* commend *colu*. Tibullus's tendency to purism

can hardly override this argument. I. 6, 7 *illa quidem tam multa negat AV Smith*. But no parallels for *tam multa* as adverb (= 'So many times as she is asked') are cited. I. 6, 72 *immerito pronas proripiarque vias Smith*, chiefly after ψ (*A* is corrupt). Probably (cf. Cartault) *proprias A* has crowded out some word which may have been entirely different in form. Therefore no form of *pronus* is especially probable. Moreover the accusative with *proripi* is unparalleled. Rigler's *in medias . . vias* is at least better syntax. ii, 2, 22 *hic veniat Natalis avis AV Smith*. No parallel is cited for *hic*, cf. I, 3, 91. There are good notes on the textual questions raised by ii, 3, 34; ii, 5, 79 (the 'shifted' pluperfect which renders changes unnecessary); iv, 6, 15; iv, 7, 1, but none at all on ii, 5, 4; ii, 5, 108 (where *ista A* seems perfectly good against *illa ψ Smith*); iv, 2, 23; iv, 4, 6; iv, 6, 19, and some other passages. In most of these difficult passages the best solution has been adopted, but some of them call urgently for at least a brief discussion, e. g. ii, 5, 4; iv, 4, 6; iv, 6, 19, in all of which the reading of *A* is rejected. In iv, 8, 6 *neu tempestivae saepe propinque viae A Smith* (Hiller 1893 and Postgate mark as corrupt) the editor admits that no explanation is satisfactory. He translates 'always on the eve of some untimely journey' which is the woman's point of view even if the Latin is decidedly what Gruppe called 'weiblich', *neu tempestivae* being taken in the sense of *intempestivae*. Moreover no acceptable parallels are cited for *propinquus* with the genitive. But Professor Smith seems justified in leaving the passage as it stands and trying to interpret it instead of making several changes. This in general his attitude, and that such conservatism is sound is amply proved by the history of textual emendation.

The connected presentation of those topics which concern the history of Tibullus in antiquity and during the middle ages is to be found in the Introduction, pp. 30-87, but these pages must be supplemented by the material scattered throughout the Notes. The first of these topics is the 'Life of Tibullus' (§ ii). Professor Smith uses for his reconstruction the *vita* and Horace's two poems to *Albius*—sources which have been rejected without sufficient reason by some scholars—in addition to the other external and internal evidence. He displays admirable care in stating nothing as a fact which is merely a more or less probable inference and a still more admirable restraint in refusing to make any inferences at all on some points which have too often been taken as certainties. He says, for example, that the date of Tibullus's death, 19 B. C., 'is the nearest approach to a definite date in the life of our poet'. He refuses to assign the impoverishment of the poet's estate (I. 1, 19-22) to any definite cause. He frankly admits that we do not know the order of Messalla's expeditions to the East and to Gaul and thus abandons our only hope of dating accurately I, 1, 3, and 7. All this is correct and it is gratifying to have it stated so frankly. He expressly com-

bats the favorite method of making inferences from the poet's silence—for example, that Tibullus and the circle of Messalla were politically opposed to the circle of Maecenas. The supposed rivalry indicated by Vergil's ten eclogues and Tibullus's ten elegies of Book i, by Horace's Priapus Satire and Tibullus's Priapus elegy, is sufficiently explained by 'the common phenomenon of a contemporary interest in certain themes and forms'. Very interesting too is the suggestion (p. 39) that Messalla, who is known to have been interested in niceties of style, may have had far greater influence on Tibullus than we know. Against the oft tried effort to write a history of Tibullus's love affairs Professor Smith says (p. 43), 'The poet is free to interweave fact with fiction, actual events with mere literary motives; and only those who are in the secret can be sure which is which', and yet 'the simple faith of the old commentators who . . . took every reference at its face value, is not more unreasonable than the sweeping incredulity of some of our modern critics'—this last a sensible protest against those who would make of the poet's work a mere cento of bookishness. Of the Delia elegies the editor says that although there is no chronological sequence, 'it is significant of the poet's art that . . . the *emotional* sequence, the *psychological* development, and its effect on the persons concerned, are at once complete and convincing'. To disengage the realities from these artistic presentments of the poet's moods is indeed 'peculiarly difficult', and one of these realities is the character of the poet. To Professor Smith, as to most of the poet's readers, 'he rarely fails to ring true', he was tender and refined, and loved the simple life of the country, but when we read that the poet's reference (ii, 3) to his 'tender hands' and 'slender limbs' is no doubt really descriptive of his personal appearance, that probably his vitality 'was low and his constitution delicate. Otherwise he would not have died at the early age of 35', that in fine 'Tibullus was a hypochondriac', we feel that even Professor Smith's carefully qualified inferences are going a bit too far. All this rests primarily on that interpretation of Horace, Epist. i, 4 which was recently elaborated by Ullman (A. J. P. 33, 1912), and although Professor Smith apparently rejects most of the exact agreements which Ullman finds between the Tibullus of this epistle and him of the elegies, he draws from it nevertheless the inference that Tibullus was a hypochondriac. Some such meaning must certainly be contained in the epistle, but even so we cannot date it accurately, we know that hypochondriacs are often, when not obsessed, the gayest of men, that Tibullus was by no means lacking in humor, and that he had been vigorous enough to endure the hardships of at least one campaign. I doubt whether we really know anything about the poet's 'delicate constitution', or whether 'the last years of our poet's brief life were perhaps occasionally haunted by the fear that he was destined never to realize his one

consuming ambition, a permanent place in the Roman Temple of Fame'. It is a cleverly drawn picture, it may be true, but it cannot be regarded as more than possible.

The third section of the Introduction is a good sketch of the Later Tradition and Imitation of Tibullus. The outline of his influence on European literatures is entirely new and provides a good basis for future work in this field. Indeed Professor Smith has done an enormous amount of this work himself and the Notes are full of the results of his reading. He has had in addition the valuable aid of his colleague Professor Mustard, who has earned a name as a specialist in this department. This feature of the book will prove of value not only to classical scholars but also to workers in modern literature. It is noteworthy that Tibullus, like many another poet, has had his periods of eclipse. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, little attention was paid to him—there was no 'Tudor translation', as Professor Smith says. Indeed Miss Palmer's 'List of English Editions and Translations of Greek and Latin Classics printed before 1641' shows that there was neither edition nor translation as late as 1641.

The fact that the influence of Tibullus on modern literatures has on the whole been 'less than that of any other great Roman poet' is Professor Smith's justification for comparing Tibullus with Propertius and Ovid in order to determine those qualities of Tibullus which have retarded his influence. Such comparisons inevitably lead to the selection of certain qualities in one's favorite by virtue of which he is superior to the others. Professor Smith's favorite is Tibullus, but he disarms criticism by admitting that 'comparisons . . . are more or less futile' and 'the three poets are complementary rather than parallel'. He does not forget that there are to-day, as there were in Quintilian's time, those *qui Propertium malint*. Moreover in rehandling this timeworn theme he has not only accomplished his immediate object, but has supplied us with the best brief critique of Tibullus in English.

Conservatism marks the discussion of The Corpus Tibullianum (§ V). Professor Smith would like to identify Lygdamus with Ovid's brother (Doncieux's theory), but thinks that the famous *natalem primo nostrum videre parentes*, etc., cannot be proved to mean the first anniversary of Lygdamus's birth. iv, 2-6; 13-14, are assigned to Tibullus and the stylistic arguments against this are rightly characterized as of no value. In passing we note an error (p. 77): Gruppe was the first to note that iv, 2-12 fall into two groups, but he connected 2-7, not 2-6, as Professor Smith has it. A correct statement may be found on p. 81.

The discussion of Sulpicia's elegidia is written with unusual sympathy and insight. Professor Smith compares these little poetic love notes in their straightforward simplicity and absolute

lack of affectation with the poems of Catullus. He is rightly skeptical about the 'weibliches Latein' of which Gruppe and Baehrens made so much and adds that 'inexperience in style is not distinctively feminine', but his citation of Cicero's oft quoted praise of Laelia for speaking Latin like that of Plautus or Naevius seems to me beside the mark, since a woman who spoke pure Latin might not be able to write clear Latin verse and whatever Sulpicia's conversational powers may have been, she certainly cannot write clearly. Cf. Catull xxii for a masculine parallel.

The last section (vii) of the Introduction is entitled The Poet's Art and contains a brief treatment of some topics which are illustrated more in detail in the Notes. There is first an admirable account of Tibullus's method of developing his theme. This is followed by an account of the development of the distich at Rome. Catullus is correctly termed 'the beginner, still too near his Greeks', but is it correct to say that Propertius 'especially in his earlier work . . . drops back almost to the inexperience of Catullus?' Was not Propertius consciously attempting to carry further those principles of Catullus which would have given the Romans a form at once more Greek and less monotonous than that which reached its perfection in Ovid? I for one regret that Propertius abandoned this attempt and went over to the Ovidian camp. The monotony of that eternally recurrent dissyllabic ending would hardly be altered even if we could 'pronounce as Ovid did'.

Extreme compression was necessary in the first section of the Introduction, the Development of Elegy, and there are a good many points on which one could wish for more light and especially the citation of more evidence. The views of Crusius (s. v. Elegie, Pauly-Wissowa), to which the reader is referred 'for further details', are often not acceptable. Professor Smith is right in declining to discuss the origin of elegy, but the insertion of one or two typical ancient views would have been wise. The emphasis laid on the subjective character of Old Greek Elegy is correct; it was both objective and subjective. But do we know that the 'Nanno' of Mimnermus consisted of 'poems', and does any certain fragment of the 'Nanno' have a clear 'sentimental-erotic' character? There is almost nothing about the Attic school or about Theognis, and yet Solon and Theognis, for example, contain things which are of decided value to one who would understand Augustan elegy—the praise of abstracts, the satiric note, the mythological παράδειγμα in its erotic application. The 'Lyde' of Antimachus is spoken of as 'elegies' (p. 16), but Plutarch's words are *τὴν ἐλεγείαν τὴν καλουμένην Λύδην*.

The sketch of social conditions in the Alexandrian Age (pp. 17-18) follows Crusius too closely. Crusius knows too much about the emancipation of women at that period. We are apt to assume this from Catullus lxvi and from Augustan elegy, but Berenice was a queen and the Augustans endowed the amica

with attributes which were due to the higher position of women at Rome. In other words it is difficult to prove that the 'feminization of life, literature, and art' had made much headway at Alexandria. It is in fact difficult to reconstruct a general picture of the literary and intellectual development of that age, cf. Wendland, *Hellenist.—röm. Kultur*, p. 2. Again Professor Smith agrees with Crusius in thinking it 'likely . . . that the poems [of Philetas] to Bittis were essentially lyric and subjective', and refers to the lines of Hermesianax in Athenaios, 13, 598 F. But this testimonium tells us nothing definite of the lyric or subjective character of that poetry. Professor Smith seems inclined to agree with Pohlenz that Philetas wrote subjective-erotic elegy of the idyllic variety much like that of Tibullus, cf. Pohlenz, *Xáριτες* etc., 1911, and Smith's review A. J. P. XXXIV, 208. A careful study of Pohlenz's article has convinced me that on this point his conclusions cannot be regarded as more than possible. Likewise P. Troll's interesting and valuable dissertation, *De elegiae Romanae origine* (1911), an attempt to show by analyzing methods of composition that there must have been Alexandrian elegies like the Roman type, has failed to prove its main point, although it throws much light on the structure of elegy and epigram. We are in fact at present not able to approximate a trustworthy view of the origin of the subjective-erotic type of elegy. Much more work, like that of Pohlenz and Troll, on the numerous elements which enter into the problem is needed before we can hope for substantial agreement.

The Notes—and the reader must bear the Introduction constantly in mind—prove that Professor Smith has the highest ideal of a commentator's duty. He aims not merely to determine the characteristics of Tibullus himself, but to place these characteristics in the proper perspective. This involves a comparative study of Greek and Roman elegy and the related literature of antiquity, and many excursions into modern literature as well. All the features of Tibullian thought and style and metre are richly paralleled. In the mass of this material there is very little that is superfluous, for Professor Smith never forgets that he is interpreting Tibullus, and yet his method is so broad that the commentary is a sort of handbook of Roman poetics so far as the general nature of Roman poetry may be illustrated from Tibullus and the elegy. Anybody who has attempted an adequate interpretation of a single Latin poem will perceive at once what enormous toil has been required to produce this commentary and all who have attempted such an interpretation of Tibullus will appreciate the fine taste and excellent judgment with which the work has been performed. Every statement has been carefully considered and the omissions are hardly less significant. Indeed the excellence of a commentary based, as in this case, upon the accumulated labors of centuries is determined almost as much by what is omitted as by what is included.

It is not accident that the first elegy has been the chief centre of controversy concerning the poet's art. It is one of his most characteristic poems. Whoever interprets it correctly can be trusted with the other elegies—and a scrutiny of some crucial points proves that Professor Smith can be trusted. He does not know, for example, the exact date of the elegy, the special occasion which impelled the poet to write it, nor the exact cause of the poet's impoverishment (vv. 19-22)—prominent examples of good judgment by way of omission. An understanding of the development of the thought is absolutely essential to an appreciation of Tibullian art. There is an admirable discussion of this question (Introd., pp. 93 ff.), together with a better arrangement of i, 1 than has hitherto been given—even by Vahlen. The break after v. 52 seems to me exactly right. The note on v. 3 contains a good discussion of those puzzling plurals about which editions of Latin and Greek poets contain so many wild statements. Similar notes may be found at v. 23 (on anaphora), v. 29 (the 'aoristic' infinitive), v. 33 (-que . . -que), v. 38 (the dissyllabic close of the pentameter—a condensed statement of the facts in Latin poetry), v. 40 (postponed -que), v. 54 (homoeoteleuton and rhyme). These are not mere local phenomena and each is treated from the broader point of view. The same method is maintained throughout the notes. The characteristic motives of elegy are exceptionally well handled: witchcraft (i, 2; i, 5, 49 ff.), the golden age (i, 3, 35 ff.), lover's oaths (i, 4, 21; i, 5, 35), the sick amica (i, 5, 9-18), the rich lover (*ibid.* 47-48), etc., etc. No other edition contains so many adequate notes. There are of course many statements about whose validity opinions will differ since the questions concerned are not yet solved, but errors of fact are very rare—for example, the statement accepted (i, 1, 35) that que . . et never occurs in Cicero (cf. Att. 4, 1, 5) and the misleading note on i, 7, 2 concerning diaeresis of solūo (cf. i, 10, 62).

The foregoing gives but a hint of the richness of this commentary. Professor Smith has laid a very solid foundation on which to build in the future. All who use the book will realize that such blemishes as it may have are exceedingly insignificant in comparison with its great merits. It is immensely superior to any other edition of Tibullus, and it will live because it possesses in so high a degree those qualities which are essential to an edition of the best type.

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Les Sources de Lucain. Par RENÉ PICHON, Docteur ès lettres, Professeur de Première Supérieure au Lycée Henri IV, Maître de conférences à l'École Normale Supérieure de Sèvres. Pp. IV + 279. Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1912.

Mr. Heitland, fresh from the mediocrity of Lucan, ventures to preface his introduction to Haskins' copious English edition of the *Pharsalia* with the remorseful admission "that this kind of work brings neither money nor repute". M. Pichon, with repute established, brings to his larger task, erudition, the command of scholarly method, and a frank love for his author that could be possibly only Gallic. Je voudrais, runs the *avant-propos*, que mon travail aidât à mieux comprendre un poète que j'ai toujours aimé, et que j'aime encore mieux depuis que je l'ai plus patiemment étudié, and in this lies seemingly the secret to the peculiar distinction of the work. The subjects of inquiry are Les sources historiques, Les sources philosophiques, and Les sources littéraires, with an appended excursus upon the composition of the *Pharsalia*. Separate chapters upon 'the accessory facts', the account of the Civil War', and 'the alterations of history' fittingly elaborate the discussion of the historical sources.

M. Pichon is not concerned here merely with a theory of sources, but reveals at once his alertness for defence of Lucan and the characteristic resourcefulness of his imagination. From the *Commentum Bernense* down, Lucan's statement concerning the status of the Arverni (I, 426-27) has been considered a blundering version of a report correctly associated by Tacitus (*Ann.* XI, 25) with the Aedui. But after pointing out the basis of the claim accredited to the Arverni (*sanguine ab Iliaco*), and the recognized pretension of it (*ausi fingere*), with a ready surmise for the motive of the pretension (*voulant gagner la bienveillance des vainqueurs, et rivaliser en cela avec leurs vieux adversaires les Eduens, les Arvernes ont imaginé une fable qui les faisait descendre de Troie*), and the plausible conjecture of a literary source (*Livy*), M. Pichon gains courage for faith in Lucan; who, he explains, merely states that there were pretenders to the distinction which Tacitus records was granted only to the Aedui (p. 32).

In II, 418-20 Lucan is not ignorant of the existence of tributaries to the Po, mais il dit tout simplement que le Pô n'a pas d'affluents aussi considérables que ceux du Danube (p. 8). The absurdity of placing Mt. Eryx on the Aegean Sea (II. 665-66) is cleverly shifted to a copyist who, one may believe, spoiled a compliment to the Aegatian islands by turning *maris Aegati* into *maris Aegaei* (p. 9). So by denial, justification, or the doctrine of 'more sinned against than sinning', or simple faith, Lucan is

delivered from his sins. In the case of many incidental allusions which belong merely to the commonplace erudition of a man of culture, the question of sources becomes negligible. The detailed knowledge, however, revealed in the lengthy digressions upon Gaul, Africa, and Egypt suggests specific sources of information. For the description of Gaul this was Livy. The episode of the serpents (IX, 700-949) was drawn directly from Macer, probably, however, not wholly from the Theriaca, who in turn had copied Nicander. Seneca was the authority for Egypt, but rather in his *De Situ et Sacris Aegyptiorum* than in the *Naturales Quaestiones* as imagined by Diels.

The inquiry into *Le récit de la guerre civile* attains to special interest by reason of its scope and methods. Material support is given to Reifferscheid's theory, worked out by his pupil Baier, that Livy, the "pompeien", was the only serious source for Lucan's narrative. This opinion is reached by a process of elimination of other authors and defended by able refutation of the objections of its chief opponents, Westerburg and Ussani, who have maintained that the harmony between Lucan and the other supposed *auctores Liviani* points rather to the dependence of these upon Lucan than to a conjectural common source for all. This claim forces a critical examination into the nature of Lucan's relation to Florus, Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, Appian, Cassius Dio, and Orosius, and criticism of Ussani's 'decentralization theory', by which the *Pharsalia* becomes a *contaminatio* of various authors, extends the consideration to Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Pollio, Caesar, and Cicero. In the end, tout porte à croire que Lucain n'a eu qu'une source unique, et que cette source est Tite-Live.

Under *Les altérations de l'histoire* enters again, but more formally, the case of Lucan versus his critics, with M. Pichon ably but cautiously *advocatus diaboli*. Though the case of Livy be settled, even more perplexing is the problem of estimating the peculiar quality of Lucan's relation to one not merely gone before—but lost. The attempt to discover his attitude toward historical truth by an analysis of his methods in utilizing a source—dans la mesure où ce modèle peut être restitué par conjecture—becomes merely an interesting study in probabilities and the psychology of poetic license. Il n'a pas été un pur historien, mais il a aimé l'histoire, il l'a comprise, et le plus souvent il l'a respectée. He gives le récit de Tite-Live, embelli, mais non déformé, par la splendeur de la poésie.

The particular brand of Lucan's philosophy has been hard to identify. Mr. Heitland by a laborious application of Zeller makes him out both Stoic and Epicurean. M. Lejay baffled by the possibilities concludes in desperate irony that he is merely "un homme de lettres". To M. Pichon he seems a consistent exponent of the eclectic Stoicism of Seneca.

Consideration of the resemblances between the *Pharsalia* and

the tragedies attributed to Seneca, with the incidental purpose of extending the evidence for their authorship, and an examination of Hosius' evidence for the influence of Manilius and Quintus Curtius, with negative conclusions, give to the chapter on Les sources littéraires its special value.

As *errata* I note *seconde* for *première* in *la seconde supposition*, p. 40, *leur* for *leurs* in *leur epoux*, p. 2, *ausi* for *aussi*, p. 12, the omission of a period before *en outre*, p. 32, and an incorrect form of the reference to Lucan I, 217, p. 113. In the *table des matières*, p. 273, § 4, CXIII should be, apparently, CIII.

M. Pichon has brought to Lucan a timely rescue from his "friends, the enemy". The impression, however, lingers that by ingenious and plausible hypotheses he has been too much his champion. Yet to characterize his evidently judicial charity as a bias of interest would be invidious and misrepresent the value of a study remarkable for critical acumen and scholarly restraint. In its wealth of matter, interpretative and controversial, it becomes an indispensable and unrivalled guide to a true insight into the poet's mind and methods.

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REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, XXXIV (1910), 3 and 4.

Pp. 213-223. Maurice Croiset, *Conjectures Regarding the Chronology of Some of Euripides' Plays of Uncertain Date.* (The First Hippolytus, Stheneboea, Phoenix, Cretan Women.) The first Hippolytus contained a scene in which Phaedra openly confessed her love to Hippolytus and sought to seduce him before the very eyes of the audience. The poet later eliminated the objectionable features of the play, remodeled it, and won the first prize with it. The new play, which has survived, was represented in 428 B. C. None of the twenty-five plays of Euripides that may with reasonable certainty be said to have been written after this date—and twelve of these are extant—contain matter which, like that of the first Hippolytus, was likely to outrage the sense of decency of the Athenian public. It therefore appears almost certain that at some time between the production of the first and the second Hippolytus Euripides' attitude towards public sentiment underwent a complete change. If this is true, the phenomenon sheds new light on the spiritual evolution of the poet, and establishes a new chronological criterion for the undated plays. If a play shows a female character whose conduct resembles that of the Phaedra of the first Hippolytus, it must have been written some time previous to 428 B. C., the date of the second Hippolytus. In the light of this new principle, and in view of a certain dramatical progression that manifests itself in the treatment of the one fundamental theme, the Phoenix, the Stheneboea, and the first Hippolytus must be assigned, in the order named, to a period extending from about 440-432 B. C. The Cretan Women, which was played along with the Alcestis in 438 B. C., also belongs to this group of plays.

Pp. 224-235. H. Bléry, *Studies on the Language and the Style of Terence.* The present paper is one of a number of chapters that were originally intended to form part of a complete Syntax of Terence. The Syntax was actually completed but it proved so bulky that the author at the last moment decided to reduce it to a Syntax of the Subordinate Sentence in Terence. Through the kindness of the *Revue de Philologie*, Bléry is now printing some of the most interesting portions of the material that was to be sacrificed. The present instalment treats of the following uses of the substantive. 1. The substantive use of any word, phrase, or sentence. 2. The use of an abstract noun, such

as scelus, odium, etc., or of the name of a concrete object, such as crux, carcer, etc., as a term of reproach. 3. The gender of names of plays. 4. The gender of names of women that have a neuter termination. 5. The expression *longinquitas aetatis*. 6. The various uses and the regimen of verbal substantives in -tio, -tor, and -trix. This section has nine subsections, some of which comprise still smaller subdivisions.

Pp. 235-237. Émile Bréhier, Philo of Alexandria, *De Specialibus Legibus*, I, § 82 Cohn. The passage is corrupt because it contains an absurd statement, and contradicts *Vita Mosis* II (III), §§ 143 sq. Cohn, and other ancient statements on the subject. Emend so as to read ἡ δ' ἐσθής ἐστὶ χιτῶν λινοῦς καὶ περιζῶμα <καὶ περισκελές>, τὸ μὲν εἰς αἰδοίων σκέπην, ἃ μὴ πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ γυμνοῦσθαι θέμις, [ὁ δὲ χιτῶν] <τὸ δὲ> ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρέσιαν ὀξύτητος [ἀνείμονες . . . ἡσκημένοι]. <ὁ δὲ χιτῶν λινοῦς> διὰ τὸ τὴν ὁδόνην ἐκ μηδενὸς τῶν ἀποθησκόντων ὥσπερ τὰ ἔρια γεννᾶσθαι. τῷ δ' ἀρχιερεὶ διείρηται μὲν . . .

Pp. 238-243. L. Delaruelle, *Observations on Some Passages in Cicero's Orations*. The author proposes and defends the following changes, which are indicated by italics: Pro Quinctio, 49 nam quid homini potest turpius, quid *uiuo* (MSS uero, editors uiro) miseri^{us} aut acerb^{ius} usu uenire? Pro. Rosc. Amer. 24 nemo erat qui non *audere* (MSS ardere) omnia mallet. *Ibid.* 149 causam mihi tradidit quem sua causa cupere <*perinde*> ac debere <*m*> intellegebat. Pro Caelio, 42 ut ea quae ratione antea non *despexerat* (MSS perspexerat) satietate abiecisse et experiendo contempsisse uideatur. Pro Marcello, 10 (s. f. c. 3) quod <*senatui*> breui tempore *restituta* (MSS futura) sit *sua* (MSS illa) auctoritas.

Pp. 244-250. René Waltz, *Regarding Afranius Burrus*. [Waltz spells the name Burrus, De la Ville de Mirmont Burrhus.] This paper is largely a reply to the criticisms that were directed by De la Ville de Mirmont in his article on Afranius Burrhus (see A. J. P. XXXIV (1913), 350 sq.) against some statements of Waltz's *Vie de Sénèque*. Waltz heartily concurs with De la Ville de Mirmont as to the wide prevalence of false notions regarding the career of Burrus, but he sets forth the unequal value of the arguments that were used by De la Ville de Mirmont to prove that Burrus' traditional reputation for virtue and honesty was somewhat exaggerated. Especially important is Waltz's exposition of the fact that Joseph. Ant. Jud. XX, 8, 9 is not available as an argument against the integrity of Burrus.

Pp. 251-294. Henri Alline, *The History and Criticism of the Platonic Text, and Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1016 and 1017*. (Fragments of the *Phaedrus*.) The first part of this paper is a historical survey of the theory and practice of Platonic textual criticism from the point of view of Platonic textual tradition.

Alline first passes in review the work of Bekker, Stallbaum, the Zurich editors, K. F. Hermann, Cobet, Schanz, Wohlrab, Jordan, and Král. These men may be said to represent a period of Platonic textual research that was characterized for the most part by the collation and the classification of the medieval MSS. A new era begins in 1891 with Mahaffy's publication of the *Phaedo papyrus*. This publication provoked a great deal of discussion, and led to the investigation of the real worth of our MS tradition. In this connection the author traces the work of Diels, Gomperz, A. T. Christ, Blass, Wentzel, Hartman, Usener, Immisch, and Couvreur. The appearance of the *Phaedo papyrus* also gave a fresh impetus to the study of the relation of the ancient quotations to the tradition of our MSS, and Alline shows how this work, which had been begun by Roos in 1886 and Rawack in 1888, was now continued with fine results by Couvreur, Schaeffer, St. Jones, Immisch, Bickel, and Apelt, until in 1905 the publication of the *papyrus* containing the anonymous commentary on the *Theaetetus* added new material by the aid of which it was conclusively shown that the third family of our Platonic MSS, like the second, is older than the first. After this preliminary historical sketch, the author proceeds to the special consideration of the *Phaedrus papyri* that were published by Hunt in 1910 in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part VII. These *papyri* reveal three new sources of the Platonic text. A detailed study of all the variants presented by these new sources leads Alline to the following conclusions: 1. There existed among the ancients a fairly large number of traditions that were distinct from one another and of varying worth. Hence, it is inaccurate to speak of an ancient vulgate edition of Plato. 2. These traditions, to judge by our *papyri*, differed more from B than from T, and more from BT than from the other MSS. 3. No ancient tradition is identical with any definite portion of our medieval tradition. The medieval tradition, considered as a whole, shows certain distinctive characteristics (readings that are peculiar to it and that do not result from arbitrary modifications), and seems to be derived from a single source. 4. The ancient tradition must be utilized for the establishment of the text. Not only its relation to our MSS must be studied, but also its own peculiar value must be determined. The text of *papyrus* 1017 is certainly the best of the three sources presented by the *Phaedrus papyri*, but the other two sources must not be neglected. For the editor of the *Phaedrus* specially, Alline lays down the law that he must derive his text from four sources, which are of varying value and purity, but which are all of them indispensable: 1. The text of the first family, represented by B and, only in a subsidiary manner, by some secondary MSS (Π, D etc.). 2. The text of the second family, of which the *Venetus T* is the best representative. 3. The text of the third family. In the case of the *Phaedrus*, this text is pretty close to

the text of the second family, and must be derived principally from W. The three families combined constitute our MS tradition, which is generally conclusive. 4. The ancient tradition (quotations and papyri), which is of varying form and value. In the great majority of cases, the readings common to BTW furnish the text that may be considered the true Platonic text. But in certain comparatively rare instances the papyri present a new and more authentic tradition.

Pp. 295-300. Book Notices.

Pp. 301-328. J. B. Mispoulet, *The Transformations of Spain during the First Three Centuries of the Roman Empire*. The administrative organization of Hispania ulterior did not suffer any material change during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, but, from an inscription discovered at Tangier in 1887, it appears that at some time during this period the province experienced at least a change of name. The inscription in question refers to a Nova Hispania ulterior Tingitana. The author's explanation of the designation is that during the reign of Marcus Aurelius the province of Mauretania Tingitana was temporarily attached to Spain for the sake of affording military protection to the senatorial province of Hispania ulterior Baetica. In regard to Hispania citerior, the situation is more complicated, and the facts are more obscure. The official designation of the province during the period under consideration is always Hispania citerior. It is true that the majority of modern writers speak of a provincia Tarraconensis in connection with this period, but this designation is inaccurate, as it does not appear in inscriptions before the fourth century. Other writers assume the existence of a province of Asturia et Callaecia. But the existence of such a province is far from being proved. The inscription that was discovered at Leon in 1849 seemed to have settled the question, but the author shows that the current explanation of that inscription cannot stand. According to Mispoulet, the Hispania nova citerior of the inscription is simply a reorganized Hispania citerior, the reorganization perhaps consisting in the separation of the military territory of Leon from Asturia and its annexation to the Tarraconensian district. Whilst at the time of Strabo Hispania citerior was divided into three districts, there were only two during the first three centuries of the empire, namely, Hispania citerior Tarraconensis and Asturia et Callaecia. Till the year 288 or 289 A. D., the entire province was governed by a legatus of consular rank whose official designation was legatus Augusti pro praetore Hispaniae citerioris. After 288 or 289 A. D., the governor was no longer of consular or even of senatorial rank, but he was a simple praeses of equestrian rank. In regard to the government of the districts, a distinction must be made between the Tarraconensian district and that of Asturia et Callaecia. In the Tarraconensian district we find an officer whose

rank is inferior to that of the governor of the whole province, and whose official designation is generally *juridicus*, or *legatus juridicus*, *Hispaniae citerioris Tarraconensis*, but sometimes simply *legatus Hispaniae* or *Hispaniae citerioris*. The *juridici* of this district happen never to apply to themselves the title *legati Augusti* or *legati legionis*, which the *juridici* of the other district apply to themselves. In the district of *Asturia et Callaecia* we meet with two kinds of officers, *procuratores* and *juridici*. These officers do not seem to have existed simultaneously, but the office of the procurator, which was the earlier form of office, was later abolished and gave way to that of the *juridicus*. As to the procurator, the author agrees with Hirschfeld that this official was not a fiscal agent but a real governor of the district. His official title was *procurator Hispaniae citerioris Asturiae et Callaeciae* (per *Asturiam et Callaeciam*), or, briefly, *procurator Asturiae et Callaeciae*. The *juridici*, who, as we have seen, succeeded the *procuratores* in this province, were variously designated: 1. *Legati Augusti juridici Asturiae et Callaeciae*. 2. *Legati Augusti* (with or without the name of the emperor) *Asturiae et Callaeciae* (per *Asturiam et Callaeciam*). 3. *Legati Augusti*.

Pp. 329-335. A. Cartault, *Critical Notes on the Culex*, a Pseudo-Virgilian Poem. The author believes that whilst the *Culex* will always present a residue of unsolvable textual problems, yet a certain number of the readings that are commonly regarded as hopeless or doubtful will yield to emendation. The passages that are treated here are 3, 110-114, 168, 189-200, 248, 369-371.

Pp. 336-341. Alfred Jacob, *Arrianea*. Critical notes on Arrian, *Anab.* 1, 6, 1; 1, 6, 8; 1, 7, 1; 1, 13, 3; 1, 17, 8-11; 1, 18, 1; 1, 20, 4; 1, 20, 5; 1, 20, 6; 1, 23, 3; 1, 28, 8; 2, 1, 2.

Pp. 342-349. Salomon Reinach, *Ovid's Companions and Exile*. The authors of two well-known theories as to the cause of Ovid's punishment think that Ovid's friends and servants were guilty of an act of treachery toward him and thus brought him into disgrace. In support of this view they cite *Tristia* 4, 10, 101 *Quid referam comitumque nefas famulosque nocentes?* But Reinach adduces proof to show that the heinous offence of the companions consisted in the desertion of their friend in his misfortune, and that the crime of the servants consisted in the robbery of their master on his way to Tomi. He furthermore proposes the following ingenious theory as to the cause of Ovid's banishment. On the occasion of a friendly visit to the house of Julia, Ovid was present at the performance of certain magic rites, the outcome of which was the prediction that the emperor was soon to die and that Agrippa was to be his successor. The poet had had no idea of the spectacle that was to greet his eyes, and the mistake that he made, and for which he chides himself, was that he remained and witnessed the ceremony instead of with-

drawing at once. Having previously displeased the emperor by his *Ars Amatoria* and perhaps also by his friendly relations with the two Julias, he compromised himself still further by this new act of indiscretion. His guilt was not such as to warrant the death penalty and therefore Augustus sent him into exile. In the decree of banishment the poet was charged with having written the *Ars Amatoria* and with having corrupted the young people. The emperor could not state the real cause of the punishment without publishing broadcast the prediction of his own impending doom, and Ovid, for a similar reason, could not refer in explicit terms to the circumstances that led to his misfortune. This theory, if true, would also shed some light upon the severity of the laws that were enacted by Augustus, and especially by Tiberius, against the practice of astrology and magic.

Pp. 350-378. Ch. Joret, Brunck and D'Ansse de Villoison. The author traces a history of the relations that subsisted between the distinguished Hellenists Brunck and Villoison. The materials available for this history are derived mainly from the epistolary correspondence of these two men, and especially from that of Villoison. Brunck, who was born at Strassburg in 1729, entered the field of Greek scholarship comparatively late in life. Villoison, who was born in 1750, distinguished himself very early in life, for in 1772, at the early age of 22, he became a member of the Académie des Inscriptions. It was in 1772, as Joret shows by the aid of an undated and unsigned letter of Brunck to Villoison, that Villoison first met Brunck at Paris, and submitted to him for revision and criticism the entire introduction of his *Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon*. Brunck made a number of criticisms and corrections, some of which were embodied in the published work. The remarks that preceded these criticisms were extremely complimentary to Villoison, and Brunck and Villoison ought to have become very good friends. But, though Brunck twice more visited Paris, and Villoison once visited Strassburg, and though Villoison on his visit to Strassburg formed lasting friendships with other scholars, no attachment sprang up between Villoison and Brunck, and there was very little direct correspondence between the two. Brunck was a severe critic and Villoison was vain, and this difference in temperament was accentuated by the difference in age. A specimen of Villoison's vanity and of his lack of tact towards Brunck was the writing of a letter on the eve of the completion of Brunck's *Analecta*, in which letter, besides talking a great deal about his own work, and gratuitously quoting two obscene epigrams of Moeris and furnishing a commentary on them, the writer volunteers information in regard to a couple of lyric fragments and suggests, in the case of the one, that, if Brunck had perchance overlooked it in his *Analecta*, there would still be time to place it at the end of the work. It does not appear that Brunck answered the letter, but it is perhaps significant that Villoison, in two of his letters to

Wyttenbach, speaks of the notes of Brunck's *Analecta* as "very dry and arid". A glimpse of Brunck's attitude towards Villoison may be gained by reading Brunck's "Remarks on the new edition [sc. Villoison's of 1778] of Longus", which Joret publishes from a MS preserved in the National Library at Paris. These "Remarks" reveal a sort of malicious joy on the author's part at catching Villoison in a mistake, and they betoken a sad lack of the kind of spirit that one distinguished scholar should cherish towards another. It must be borne in mind, however, that these comments and criticisms were not intended for the eyes of Villoison, and that Villoison, in fact, never saw them. It is evident from the foregoing that the relations between Villoison and Brunck could never have been very close and cordial, yet, in spite of this, there is evidence to prove that Brunck did really appreciate Villoison's work, and Villoison, on the other hand, until two years before the French Revolution, maintained the highest regard for Brunck's scholarship, took a lively interest in all that Brunck was doing, was always solicitous of his good opinion, favored him with copies of the most important of his works, and in his letters to Oberlin and others at Strassburg almost invariably sent his regards to Brunck. All this came to an end in 1788. In this year Villoison sent Brunck a copy of his *Homer*. Brunck's reception of the *Homer* may have been cool, or his ardent advocacy of the French Revolution combined with the transfer of his philological activities to the field of Latin may have displeased Villoison. At any rate, Brunck's name is never again mentioned in any of the letters of Villoison, and even his death, in 1803, was passed unnoticed by one who more than once had had occasion to test the value of his life.

P. 379. Georges Romain, *Plautus, Casina* 437-451. Critical note.

P. 380. Bernard Haussoullier, *Epigraphica*. Consideration of *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1910, p. 2, and *Jahreshefte des ö. arch. Inst. in Wien*, XIII (1910), *Beiblatt*, p. 25.

C. W. E. MILLER.

HERMES XLIV.

Fascicle 3.

Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte griechischer Metren. P. Friedländer agrees with Schröder (cf. *Vorarbeiten zur gr. Versgesch.* p. 81): that the dactylo-epitrite is an ionized enoplious, derived from the 'oldest' form of Greek verse: (υ) — υ — υ — (υ); but only so far as the dactylic colon is concerned, for the epitrite — υ — — resists its treatment as a minor Ionic, and more simply can be regarded as an abbreviated Ithyphallic — υ — υ — υ, which is frequently combined with the enoplious, and at times

takes the place of the epitrite in Simonides and tragedy. Generally speaking, the epitrite holds the same relation to the Ithyphallic and Lecythion, as the Reizianum $\frac{\sim}{\sim} - \frac{\sim}{\sim} - \frac{\sim}{\sim}$ does, to the normal enoplius and the more fully developed enoplius, with four stresses. F. discusses the varieties, and, further, maintains that the ionizing process can also be seen in the case of the Sotadeans and Phalaeceans. For adverse criticism see White, *The Verse of Greek Com.* 816 (cf. A. J. P. XXV 222).

Triumph und Votum. G. Beseler accepts the main results of R. Laqueur (A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 224); but criticizes details, and defends Mommsen's views on several points. The execution of captives was in its origin human sacrifice imported with the triumph from Etruria. The triumphal garb was preserved in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, hence erroneously came to be regarded as the god's attire.

Ein Selbstzeugnis des Terenz. F. Jacoby calls attention to the essential agreement between Andria 32-39, which reveals an ideal relation between Simo and his libertus Sosia, and the first lines of the Terence biography; from which he infers that Terence, at his earliest opportunity, expressed his gratitude to his patron, the Roman senator Terentius Lucanus.

Χέρνιψ. P. Stengel finds that, whereas χέρνιψ is used for cleansing in *a* 136, *δ* 52 etc., in *γ* 445 it is an offering. The oldest example of a water libation is *λ* 26 ff. (cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 469 ff., Aesch. Pers. 613; and Athen. IX 496 B on the *πλημοχόαι*). Homer uses *χεῖρας νίπτεισθαι* for 'washing one's hands' (cf. II 230, *β* 261 etc.); the only example of *χερνίπτεισθαι*, A 449, means 'they offered χέρνιψ' (cf. [Lys.] VI 52, Eur. Iph. Taur. 622). The Attic ὕδροφόρεια, probably connected with the *Χύτροι*, was a festival commemorating the victims of the Deucalion flood (cf. Etym. M. 774, 56; Hesych. s. v. ὕδροφόρεια), at which water was poured into the chasm in the sanctuary of Ῥῆ Ὀλυμπία (cf. the honey cakes in Paus. I 18, 7). To these passages may be added Eur. Hypsipyle, Oxyrh. Pap. VI (1908) III 29 ff. The ὑδρόσπονδα or χέρνιβες were, perhaps originally, together with the οὐλόχυται, offerings to the *Χθόνιοι* divinities for fertility and crops, which later became a means of lustration (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 471).

Die Jasonsage in der Hypsipyle des Euripides. C. Robert discusses the new Jason myth in Eur. Hypsipyle (cf. Oxyrh. Pap. VI 852), showing the correctness of *εἰς Κόλχων πόλιν* v. 1614, etc. The visit of the Argonauts on Lemnos preceded the massacre, they were the guests of Thoas; on leaving, Jason took the two (legitimate) children with him to Colchis, where, like Achilles, he died prematurely, which throws light on a vase painting of about 490 B. C. (cf. E. Reisch in *Helbigs Führer* 1271), representing Jason in the mouth of the dragon and Athene calmly looking on, a version suggesting the success of his rival

Heracles. In the meantime the massacre takes place. Thoas, hidden by his daughter, is discovered and miraculously transported to Thrace, whence he returns to Lesbos with the children, who had been brought to Thrace by Orpheus. Euripides lets Hypsipyle be carried off to Nemea, where, as nurse to Opheltes, she serves to connect the Argonautic expedition with the Seven against Thebes, a large Aeschylean treatment of myths, exhibited also in Eur. Trojan (415 B. C.) and Theban (410 B. C.) trilogies, which series seems to close 409 B. C., with the trilogy: Antiope, Hypsipyle and, perhaps, Melanippe II. It is noteworthy that Euripides ignores his own Medea.

Menanders Perikeiromene. K. Fr. W. Schmidt presents here in forty-one pages an analysis of the P. with emendations and assignments of parts, some of which have been adopted in Koerte's Menandrea (1910). Regard is paid to the views of Leo, Koerte, v. Arnim, etc., and especially of Robert (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 225).

Lesefrüchte. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff continues his series of miscellanies (cf. A. J. P. XXVII 343). Some of the results are: Pind. Ol. 2, 60 ἀβροτέραν for ἀγροτέραν, cf. Fraccaroli, p. 195, n. 2; Plat. Symp. 202 c πῶς τοῦτο [ἔφην om. Ox.] λέγεις, 208 c θαυμάζοι <μί> σ' ἄν; 213 b κατιδεῖν for καθίζειν; Ion 532 d ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ [τάληθ' ἴδω] οἶον κτλ. After rereading most of the dialogues at a stretch, W. still disbelieves in the genuineness of the Ion. Aeschin. 2, 169 τὸν τε Μενίτην for Τεμενίδην proved by MSS A and C, = 10055 Kirchn. Prosopogr. Eur. Rhesus 680 δεῦρο δεῦρο πᾶς (685) ἴτω ΟΔ. θάρσει· ΧΟ. πέλας ἴθι· παῖε πᾶς, a trochaic tetrameter. Eur. Hekabe 73-78, 90-97, 211-215 are interpolations adopted from actors' copies by the Alexandrians. Euripides' shade of Polydorus is the conscious counterpart of the shade of Achilles in Soph. Polyxena (Frg. 480). Alciphron's 'Lamia to Demetrius' is printed with introduction and translation. The feminine ethos and resemblance to Clärchens conversation with Egmont is noteworthy; Alciphron worked over an older letter, which originated near the time of the characters represented. Aristophanes' Daitaleis was named after a θίασος that had just returned from a banquet in a sanctuary of Heracles. The banquet described in iambic verse, according to Aristoph. oldest order, must have followed the parabasis, and was introduced to contrast the σώφρων and καταπύγων. The Ἄγων was carried on by the father and his sons, the καταπύγων was opposed to the other two in the examination, etc. . The association of Thrasymachus with the καλοκαγαθίαν (first occurrence) ἀσκούντες reveals the rhetor as being also a teacher of virtue. The above is a criticism, in part, of Hugo Weber's Aristoph. Studien, p. 84 ff.

Miscelle: K. Fr. W. Schmidt offers emendations to Menander's Samia and Epitrepontes.

Fascicle 4.

Die Zeit des Ephorus. E. Schwartz expands his arguments for the earlier period of Ephorus (cf. R-E. Diodorus and Ephorus), in opposition to B. Niese (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 224). Diod. book XVI 23-25 contains a number of double passages, not identical, revealing a second source where Ephorus came to an end, i. e. at the beginning of the Phocian war 357 B. C. (cf. Paus. X, 2, 3, etc.) Demophilus attracted by the popular theme added book XXX and presumably announced, in the preface, his purpose of writing the history of the 'Holy War'; but continued down to 340 B. C., where he stopped for some unknown reason. Ephorus would have devoted, at least, ten books to this period, 357-340 B. C. The dream of Philip (Plut. Alex. 2) is probably from book XXX, as well as the estimate of 735 years from the Return of the Heraclidae to Alexander's crossing into Asia (Clem. Strom. 1, 139, 1; cf. Diod. XVI 76), which Niese would assign to one of the first three books. S. discusses Callisthenes, Theopompus, Ephorus, etc. Cratippus was an impostor of the I century B. C.

Die Hibehrede über die Musik. W. Crönert gives a slightly improved text, with translation, commentary, etc., of these two papyrus leaves (cf. Grenfell and Hunt, Hibeh Pap. 1906, no. 13). It is the beginning of a speech criticizing the discourse of an *ἀρμονικός* on the ethical value of music. In Plato Phaedr. 268 d such a musical specialist is scorned by a *μουσικός*. The author was an Isocratean (not Hippias); even phrases from *κατὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν* (about 390 B. C. cf. Rh. M. 1907, 182) were adopted. Hiatus occurs, hence its avoidance was not yet an established norm. Damon has been thought of as the object of the attack (cf. Plato Rep. III 398-400, Aristid. Quint. II 14, etc.); but he was known as a *μουσικός* (cf. Philod. de mus. 7 K., Plato Lach. 180 d.); besides Damon's Areopagite oration, though genuine (Wilam. Arist. u. Athen I 134) was fictitious (cf. A. J. P. X 110), whereas the Hibeh address criticizes one actually delivered; finally, the probable date, close to 390 B. C., points to a pupil of Damon, possibly Draco.

Homérica. G. Pinza, in the belief that Homeric dress was oriental, finds analogies between his interpretations of the text and representations in Assyrian and Syrian art. The *ἐάνος* was a linen undergarment, like the Ionic *χιτών*; the *φᾶρος* a woollen *ἐπίβλημα*. *πέπλος* had a generic sense (ζ 38), and so could be combined with *ἐάνος* (cf. θ 385); but was also used in a special sense for *φᾶρος*. The outer garment alone was dyed; coloring matter would have suffered from perspiration. *κροκόπεπλοι* and *κυανόπεπλοι* can be seen in Layard II pl. 55/6. P. discusses the *ζώνη*, *καλύπτρη*, *κάλυμμα*, the head gear in X 468 ff., and shows that the *κεστός ἱμῖς* of Aphrodite (π 214-217), which Hera used as a talisman, was a girdle for supporting the breasts. The

κρήδεμον in ε 346, 351 suggests the belts worn by swimmers in Mesopotamia.

Die Jerusalemser Handschrift der Oracula Sibyllina. A. Rzach presents his collation of this hitherto unused MS, which dating from the late XIV century is one of the oldest of the Sibylline MSS, excepting the IV century fragment of book V (cf. *Atene e Roma*, 1904, p. 354 ff.). The usual criteria show that Z (so R. calls it) belongs to the α class, in general the best; that it is from the same source as Q; but has some independent value.

Plancus und Lepidus im Mutinensischen Krieg. C. Bardt gives details of Cicero's correspondence, of the movements of the contestants with the aid of a map, of the attitude of the senate and Cicero, etc. Additional proof corroborates April 21st as the date of the battle of Mutina. Plancus received the news about April 28 at Cularo, on the north side of the Isara. The following day he began negotiations with Lepidus; but did not actually start south until May 18. Two days' march from Forum Voconii he learned of Antony's union there with Lepidus, from the faithful republican Laterensis. May 28 (ad fam. X 21) he declares everything is lost. This disputed date is fixed, by its agreement with the course of events, by hoc (= huc) in X 21, 5 referring to the neighborhood of Lepidus and Antony, and by the apologetic tenor of the letter, which adduces, as evidence of his celerity (X 21, 1), his earlier crossing of the Isara (May 12 ad fam. X 15, 3), whereas he had continually procrastinated. Antony was the ablest of the generals and the dominating influence in the conduct of Lepidus. Plancus, overcautious, followed a vacillating and dilatory policy.

Kauf und Verkauf von Priestertümern bei den Griechen. W. Otto republishes a Milesian decree (Abh. Berl. Akad. 1908 Anhang), which specifies the share of the victims due the purchasers of the priesthood, i. e. the priests, at public and private sacrifices; in the latter case skins were excepted. The fragment breaks off at the beginning of a third class. The sale of priest-hoods is accordingly not a sign of Hellenistic decadence, as the above decree belongs to the V or early IV century. This had already been surmised by Wilamowitz from a II century decree of Priene (cf. Hiller v. Gaertringen, p. 134, *Inscr. v. Priene* n. 174) in which the exemption from the trierarchy was evidently a traditional formula, as it could have been actual in Priene only before the battle of Lade 494 B. C. (cf. A. J. P. XX 455; Whibley *Com. to Greek Studies*, p. 319).

Doppelfassungen bei Juvenal. F. Leo points out and reconstructs double versions in Juvenal, beginning with the Bodleian fragments (cf. A. J. P. XXII 268) and traces the MS tradition. There were two authentic editions of Juvenal: the first published by himself, the second after his death. The latter contained a

number of alterations, and although not carefully edited, became the standard and basis of the commentaries, beginning in the II century. Copies of the first edition, however, were known to the commentators, and continued to exist down to the XI century, from which the posthumous edition was interpolated from time to time.

Miscellen: Gabriel Téglás publishes a military tile found at Gyulafehérvár (= Karlsburg, Apulum), inscribed: LEG. XIII GE ET ADI = leg(io) XIII Ge(mina) et Ad(iutrix) I. This proves that these legions together constituted the first garrison in Dacia under Trajan, as Mommsen and others had concluded from a similar tile found at Bucuresci, which Téglás plausibly conjectures had been brought from Gyulafehérvár early in the XIX century.—F. E. Kind selects from several parallel passages in Nicander and Philumenus, omitted by Wellmann (cf. *Corpus medicorum* X 1, 1), Nic. Ther. 934-956 = Phil. c. 15, 15-16, on account of their importance for the text. Of the twenty-six ingredients of Nic. the text of Phil. contains twenty-one, and the others can be obtained by emendation. Kind also emends the scholion to Nic. Ther. 190: *ἰχνεύμων*: *εἶδος <κάττου>*, for *ἀεροῦ*. Hence *ἱερὸς δὲ ἐστὶν Ἡρακλέους, ὡς Αἰγύπτιος* is correct, and Bentley's conjecture *αἰγυπτιός* mistaken.—F. Blumenthal shows that the praefectus iure dicundo, associated with the duumvirs on Caecilius Jucundus' receipt (cf. Mau-Kelsey, p. 214), merely acted as a substitute for the latter during their absence in Rome at the trial of the Pompeians and Nucerians for the riot in 59 B. C. (cf. Tac. ann. XIV 17).—A. B. Drachmann adduces additional proof in support of his belief in the existence of traces of a version in Soph. *Antigone*, according to which the heroine buried her brother (cf. A. J. P. XXXII, p. 462).—Th. Reinach offers emendations to Menand. *Periceiomene*.—C. Robert shows that Od. i, vv. 24, 25 are interpolations, without which the location of Ithaca becomes clear.

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BRIEF MENTION.

There may be a diversity of opinion as to the value of addresses and popular lectures; there can be no diversity of opinion as to the disproportionate drain on the time and energies of the orator and the lecturer, as well as on the patience of the discerning portion of the audience. When the author of these performances rereads them after the lapse of years—nay, it may be after the lapse of months or weeks—he is apt to be seized with an immense disgust. If rashly committed to print, they are perpetual reminders—unhappy reminders—of the necessary conciliations of benevolence and the trivial jests which every American audience demands. And so I congratulate myself whenever I have withstood the temptation—and there is always a temptation—to bring these epideictic affairs of my own before a wider public, one that is not moved to sympathy by the living presence of the performer. They are things that perish with the using, or ought to perish with the using. One such praelection was extorted from me some months ago, and, in order to acquit myself of what seemed an inevitable duty without unnecessary interruption of my regular work, I took for my text a book which has had a certain vogue among those who have a vague fancy for Greek and like to have their predilection justified, like to have some professional scholar tell them what to think, but more particularly what to say, when they encounter the sneers of those who regard this whole line of studies as obsolete. But before I had completed my task, I bethought me of reading the criticisms that had been made of Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S volume, *The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us*, and found that the work had been satisfactorily disposed of by those organs of opinion for which I have respect; but it was too late to change my subject, and so I set my teeth and said to myself: Si vous y êtes, comme ie pense, donnez un peu plus de volée à vos cloches—memorable words addressed to an ancient and ineffectual performer in one of Balzac's *Contes Drôlatiques*, unread by me for fifty odd years. So true is it, as I had urged on a similar occasion (*Hellas and Hesperia*, p. 84), that the words that come up to us in time of stress are not always the words of the mother-tongue. In short, I was in for it, and did my best under the circumstances. And there the thing rested, and I bade my little discourse keep company with my other temporary trumperies. The long vacation came on. All my arrangements for the *Journal* had been made, and, like the man in Blair's Grave, I was sitting at ease in my possessions, when I received an intimation that one of my re-

viewers might fail me. I did not 'run to each avenue and shriek for help'—a vain proceeding at that period of the year—but in order to fill the possible gap I executed myself and made a summary of my rejected address, which I thought might serve as a review. Meantime the danger passed, and I was left with another time-wasting performance on my hands; but as in its revised form it was meant for publication, I consign it to its doom and give it a place among the unconsidered trifles of *Brief Mention*.

Hardly a number of the Journal appears without some fling at translations and translators, ungenerous flings, as some may deem them; but I am jealous, and jealousy is cruel as the grave. Similar is my attitude towards books concerning the Greek genius, which are multiplying like translations, and like translations set my nerves quivering. Neither class of performances do I look at except under dire compulsion such as forced me to read Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S volume, which has found its public.

The book is clever—cleverness is even cheaper now than *bel esprit* was in Molière's time—il n' y a rien à meilleur marché que le bel esprit maintenant—but it is an inexpressibly irritating book to a man of my make-up. There is too much kowtowing in it. By reason of a long life of study and an environment that makes for personal independence, I am averse to any form of kowtowing, and while the whole world was making obeisance to that deft manufacturer of counters that passed current for coin of the realm, Matthew Arnold, I did not hesitate to object to such phrases as 'Conduct is three-fourths of life', whereas it is the whole of life—if indeed life is *βίος* (A. J. P. XI 126); and I am sorry that my friend Professor Goodell has accepted Matthew Arnold's definition of poetry as a criticism of life. Poetry is a criticism of life, but it is so much else. Matthew Arnold having had his day, Mr. LIVINGSTONE kowtows now to Nietzsche, who is all the rage, now to the Heavenly Twins after this fashion. 'In Germany', he says, 'Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (I miss the Ulrich), in England Professor Murray, have entered into the Greek mind to a degree impossible to previous generations'—generations to which I belong. Now, I yield to no one in my admiration of both these Hellenists; I am grateful to them both, but not to the extent of prostration, and I should not have bracketed them as Mr. LIVINGSTONE has done. 'Castor gaudet equis', and Gilbert Murray's poetical genius suggests a Pega-sean parallel, and *pugnis* is not inappropriate to Wilamowitz; but the Berlin scholar ought to stand alone.

No doubt the process of the ages brings with it a fuller appreciation of Hellenism, and of this process Wilamowitz and Gilbert Murray, each in his kind and degree, are conspicuous interpreters; but, after all, in the interest of the rank and file of Hellenists I maintain that the relation of the Grecian to things Greek is personal (A. J. P. XXXIII 305). The old scholar who loved Greek before Wilamowitz was born, who preached the glory of Greece when Gilbert Murray was in his cradle, finds it hard to kiss his hand to new luminaries—a proceeding forbidden in the Bible—though, to be sure, the *Udalricium sidus*¹ can hardly be called a new luminary. It was in this spirit of independence that I took for the title of the discourse I am now editing, 'The Wooing of Roxane', and compared myself to the inarticulate Chrétien of Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*—Chrétien who loved Roxane with every fibre of his healthy being, and must have chafed when his fellow-admirer expressed his feelings so much better than he himself could have done. How I rejoiced when Chrétien achieved the kiss of which Cyrano only caught the air when it was blown to him! In order to grow old gracefully, we are told, it is necessary to be a little behind the fashion, and yet in espousing the cause of Chrétien against Cyrano I might consider myself as up-to-date, for in a figure I am pleading the cause of intuition against intellection. Still, if I am up-to-date, it is because of the inevitable cycle in ways of thinking. The same old issues recur, as the same old jokes recur, and the problem of the universe is a new edition of Hierokles, which I read seventy odd years ago in the *Graeca Minora*. Only the type is not so clear as the old, the ink is not so black. The grammarian, the student of rhetoric, encounter the same antitheses everywhere. Herakleitos, to adapt an old illustration of my own,² with his eternal flux is $\omega\varsigma$, is 'how', and answers to the impressionist. Parmenides with his everlasting one is $\delta\tau\iota$, is 'that', and answers to the idealist. The sophists juggle with 'how' and 'that', the artists in speech put $\omega\varsigma$ for $\delta\tau\iota$ to avoid the yawn between two vowels, and bid philosophic systems go hang. Even Plato, who begins with $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \delta\tau\iota$, winds up with $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron\nu\ \omega\varsigma$. Impressionism wins the day. Dionysios, the pedantic teacher of rhetoric, Dionysios, Usener's *magistellus*, analyzes all his orators. Lysias, for instance, he tells us, has all the virtues of style, purity of diction, clearness, conciseness, vividness. The arrangement of his narrative is faultless; he knows how to assume the character of the speaker, and touches the rôle he assumes with sympathy; but after all this analysis, Dionysios is forced to declare that in a question of genuineness he has to rest his judgment on an indefinable $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$, that $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$, which in the case of Demosthenes, be-

¹ In my youth the planet Uranus was still called *Georgium sidus*—a loathsome piece of snobbery.

² A. J. P. XXVIII 354. Comp. X 472.

comes a still more untranslatable *ἀνθρώπου χάρις*. In point of fact he sorts his orators by a sense that is more subtle than the processes of chemical analysis; and thus we arrive at a conclusion which is supposed to be the last word of modern thought, and when we arrive, we find that we are living with Walt Whitman's animals who do not analyze, we find that it behooves us to worship and fall down and kneel before the Egyptian Anubis, to whom the world is a smell-scape.

But really this is nothing new to me. Many years ago I insisted that the way to understand Pindar lay through synthesis, not through analysis. Keeping step with genius is a subtle process. All keeping step is subtle, and the advocate of impression against intellection might quote LIVINGSTONE to his purpose, for LIVINGSTONE agrees with all the fashionables in turn. Now he is an analyst, anon an impressionist and if it were worth while I could make him plead with me the case of Chrétien against Cyrano. Only it is distinctly not worth while. One of our foremost Pindaric scholars, Fraccaroli, has advocated the doctrine that Greek poetry began to decline when consciousness came in (A. J. P. XV 503); and one of his compatriots, Bodrero (A. J. P. XXXI 110), maintains that the coming of Sokrates was the downfall of the true philosophy of life, and evidently has no more respect for the son of Sophroniskos intellectually than old Cato had politically, and Mr. LIVINGSTONE seems to be of the same mind—the Nietzschean mind. The true Greek genius reveals itself in the early period. And then he proceeds to analyze what is unanalyzable, and presents us with a number of Notes of Hellenism. Somehow he reminds one of the *Sylva Nuptialis* of Nevizan, a poem well known to students of such matters. I am not a student of such matters, but I happen to have a copy, and I was amused to find not long ago in a lending library intended for virgins and boys a French translation of the same poem. It is a poem in which the thirty points of female beauty are catalogued with an unsparing minuteness that reminds one of Alkiphron (1, 39). This production of Nevizan's, by the way, came up to my mind again the other day, when I read how a young woman in one of those eugenic debates now so common claimed for herself physical perfection. But despite eugenics, people will not mate on that basis, and I bethought myself of what Mrs. Humphry Ward says in one of her novels, if they may be called novels, that a woman may have all the endowments that could make the ideal wife for such and such a man; and then comes along a girl that has a way with her, and that girl triumphs over the embodiment of all these admirable qualifications.

Now, Hellas is to me the girl that has a way with her, and I don't want her physical and moral and intellectual charms catalogued by Mr. LIVINGSTONE or any other writer. According to Mr. Murray's deliverance, in the *Yale Review*, Vol. II, No. 2, *The Tradition of Greek Literature*, these charms are largely to be divined. They are not all revealed in the literature that we possess, for, as he urges, we are unhappily dependent on the selection made by unqualified persons of a later day—monks and the like—so that the true springs of Hellenic beauty are to be discovered only by the divining rod of poetical geniuses—such as Mr. Murray himself. Let us thank God that something is left for us poor moderns.

But that is an aspect of the problem of Hellenism that is not discussed by Mr. LIVINGSTONE, and would hardly be discussed by him at any rate, as he has narrowed his range to the earlier period, to what he considers the characteristic period; and it is in this domain that he undertakes to circulate his *Notes of Hellenism*. Of course, it may seem strange that I should object to this, for I am a determined analyst, and I have described my proper occupation as the chemical analysis of Greek style. And, which is worse, some years ago I wrote a chapter on Americanism and Hellenism, in which I claimed for Americans all, or nearly all, the characteristics of the ancient Greeks of Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S (and Nietzsche's) best period. Here are Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S headings: *The Note of Beauty, The Note of Freedom, The Note of Directness, The Note of Humanism, The Notes of Sanity and Manysidedness*. Now, we Americans are free, we are direct, we are full of a kindly humanity—no people more so. We are sane, too sane to be taken in by Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S catch-words. We are manysided, and if one misses the note of beauty, what race of men ever made greater sacrifices to achieve the vision of beauty than we Americans? The poor school-teacher scrapes together all her living for a sight of the wonders of art and nature on the other side of the Atlantic, to the immense surprise of Europeans themselves and the immense profit of hotel-keepers. And if this were not enough, M. Bergson has recently given us a certificate exchangeable for the Note of Beauty.

But all this analysis is in vain, and my own analysis was not very seriously meant. The chapter may be set down as one of my elaborate jests, and I was frank enough to say at the outset that I was at a loss to characterize Americans. It was plain enough that I did not pin my faith to the three apostles of Americanism there cited—Professor Brander Matthews, Dr. Henry van Dyke, and President Butler. Of these Professor van Dyke,

although his special mission to Europe was to tell Europeans what manner of men we Americans are, nevertheless omitted two of the most salient characteristics of our people, 'our peculiar versatility and temperamental resiliency', to use the elegant language of a reviewer in the *Nation*. Sooth to say, I should not have had the courage to carry out my somewhat sophistic parallel, if I had read the following account of an interview between M. Paul Bourget, who explored America some years ago, and Mark Twain—American of Americans.

'There isn't', Mr. Clemens is reported to have said, 'there isn't a single human characteristic that can be safely labelled American: there isn't a single human ambition or religious trend or drift of thought, or peculiarity of education, or code of principles, or breed of folly, or style of conversation, or preference for a particular subject for discussion, or form of legs or trunk or head or face or expression or complexion or gait or dress or manners or disposition or any other human detail inside or outside that can rationally be generalized as American'.

What Mark Twain has said of America and Americans may be made to apply to Hellas and the Hellenes, and he who should scrutinize closely Mr. LIVINGSTONE's characteristic of the Greek genius will find that there is no consistency in his doctrine, that he tries to be on both sides of the fence at the same time. Our pilot's boat yaws frightfully. The trouble about Mr. LIVINGSTONE is the trouble that affects many persons imperfectly acquainted with Greek. They mistake silences of language for absences of character. A flagrant instance of this is the footnote in which he tells us that there is no recognition of personality among the Greek thinkers—just a faint trace of it somewhere in Aristotle—a remark which I have dealt with in a recent *Brief Mention* (XXXIV 233). He might as well abandon the note of humanism, because the Greeks had no word for humanism, as writers on 'Humanität' have pointed out. But that would be quite in line with the charge brought against the French that they have no 'home' because they have only 'foyer' and 'chez soi'; but they have the thing in a deeper, truer sense, and guard it with more jealous love, than the Briton who packs off his boys to school at the earliest possible date. How often does 'humanity' occur in Shakespeare, whom Mr. LIVINGSTONE has credited with Wordsworth's 'Still, sad music of humanity'? Failing to punctuate,¹ 'still, sad' he has left me still sad at the spectacle of the gyrations of this interpreter of the Greek genius. Euripides, the human, is still Euripides the human, though we can't translate Mrs. Browning's epithet into Greek. Mr. LIVINGSTONE makes merry over those cramped intellects, those befogged brains that after ten years' study cannot give any account of the characteristics

¹ Oddly enough the same failure to punctuate occurs in A. J. P. XXXIII 480, l. 39. I am sorry that I cannot lay hands on a special monograph concerning the oxymora of the Lake School, in which 'still music' would naturally figure.

of the Hellenes, except that the Greeks did not have the same appreciation of scenery that moderns have. He laughs at this solitary characteristic, but does not stop to shew that the same thing is in line with his own method. *Solvitur ambulando*. A visit to the sites of Greek temples would forever dispel such nonsense. But comment on all Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S pronouncements would carry me over the whole field of Hellenism, and as he is preaching the same gospel that I have preached for more than half a century, I ought to be as generous as St. Paul tried to be in like case.

So much for Greek, for it is indeed ungracious in these days, when the love of many waxes lukewarm, to find fault with any encomiast of Hellenic studies; but one more protest must be entered. Greek is not to be extolled to the disparagement of Latin, and Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S outgivings as to the Latin language and Roman literature have aroused in me such feelings of resentment as are not yet outworn. The classics were to have been my avocation, not my vocation. Perhaps they are still, but whilst I adored Greek from my early childhood, it was something to be adored, not to be mastered, as it is yet; and when the question of livelihood came up, Latin was to have been the business of my life. But it turned out otherwise. Still there was great joy in my Latin work, and I 'nourished a youth sublime'—in human life nothing but youth is sublime—on both Latin and Greek poetry; and the Latin nourishment stood me in good stead during the darkest days, which were also the noblest days, of a long life—the days when the elect among the combatants North and South lived on a plane lifted far above the meanesses of to-day. And so I brush Mr. LIVINGSTONE'S sneer at the Roman poets aside. Grecian as I am, I would not give them up for any resuscitated Alexandrians, and when, now many years ago, Mr. Postgate, A. J. P. IV (1883) 209, called Ovid an inferior Cicero in verse, I resented the characteristic as I afterwards resented Daudet's criticism: *Ça un poète? Tout au plus de l'infanterie montée*. Meantime Cicero has come back (A. J. P. XVIII 242), and the *nimium amator ingenii sui* has struck chords in me that have never ceased to vibrate. Just after the war I was called on more than once out of the depths of the gloom and defilement of the reconstruction period for inscriptions in honour of the loved and lost, and responding to the cry '*Sculpe que-relam*' for a monument to the memory of the lads of one Virginia school, I bade the head-master carve upon the tablet,

<Hi>bene pro patria cum patriaque iacent,

the lament of Briseis for her brothers in the *Heroides*. That note of despair has been lost in the louder music of our new nationality, but it lingered long; and when shortly afterward (1867) I

sought to build up the waste places of my people in the humble ways of educational endeavour, I set down as a fitting example of the nominative of the infinitive,

Non tam turpe fuit vinci quam contendisse decorum est.

All that is left of it to-day is 'contendisse decorum est'; and when I read the other day that there is to be a monument in honour of the Yale men who fell in the war, whether on the Union or on the Confederate side, I said to myself: What better motto for the joint monument than the 'contendisse decorum est' of the 'inferior Cicero in verse', 'the mounted infantryman' among the winged brotherhood?

Among the articles summarized by MELTZER¹ that have passed over into the Brugmann-Thumb Syntax is one on the subject of gender, a subject of perennial interest (IGF XXIV 62-69), on which I have had something to say from time to time; e. g., A. J. P. XXV 111, XXVII 361. Years ago Brugmann set his face against fanciful attempts to explain grammatical gender by natural gender, and the paper under consideration is a reinforcement of his famous Princeton discourse. Here as there analogy is shewn to be the potent solvent of such problems as the feminines of the second declension. ἡ ἵππος, 'cavalry', is followed by ἡ κάμηλος, 'camelry', and both are due to the feminine collectives—ἡ ἀσπίς, 'the shield-corps', ἡ αἰχμή, 'the spear-corps', and the like. Of course, to a person of my ill-regulated fancy, for which I have been sharply rebuked even in the domain of poetry, in which fancy may be supposed to have some scope (A. J. P. XIV 501), the sexual element will not down; a feminine collective is a mother (S. C. G. 41), and the primal institution of matriarchy comes to the front (see FARNSWORTH'S *Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste*). And in these days when sexual hygiene is freely discussed in mixed companies of men and women, I might have no hesitation in taking up the subject again from my point of view. But MELTZER has pronounced Brugmann's paper a model, a gem, 'eine kleine Perle', and I do not wish to be classed among the parishioners of Pater Brey, on whom pearls were thrown away; and what I have to say here is really a glorification of analogy, and so far forth an acceptance of Brugmann's doctrine. Great indeed is the goddess Analogy, but the instances of her power I am about to adduce lie in the opposite direction to that which Brugmann has taken; they are samples of the way in which the termination has been too potent for the grammar, the way in which scholars—and not those of the lowest rank—have yielded to the spell of the final syllable.

¹ Jahresbericht 1904-1910. Cf. A. J. P. XXXIV 370.

And while Brugmann is explaining the way in which the masculine nouns come to be used as feminines, the same nouns are quietly restored to the masculine ranks. I call no names. I might cite the great work of a first-class grammatical authority in which ἡ ὁδός figures as ὁ ὁδός, and my eyes have seen 'hic Peloponnesus', 'hic periodus', and 'hic supellex', in conformity with the rule 'Masculine are nouns in -ex'. The latest example of this deviation occurs in the writings of an illustrious Pindarist, who has emended an epigram of Simonides (A. P. XIII 10, 5) by changing *ζαθία* in *Ἰσθμοὶ ζαθία* to *ζαθία*. 'Der Isthmos', he says confidently, 'ist kein Femininum'. Alas, it is ἡ Ἰσθμός over and over again in Pindar, O. 7, 8; 8, 89; and in I. 1, 32, we find *Ἰσθμός ζαθία*, the very adjective emended. The usage seems to have been a local one, and while *ἴσσοδος* will occur to everyone as a sufficient analogy, *γέφυρα* might suggest itself to others, for *γέφυρα* is Pindaric for the Isthmus of Corinth. Compare N. 6, 40: *πόντου γέφυρα*, and I. 3, 38: *γέφυραν ποτιάδα*. The gender seems to me not inappropriate to the genius of the place, the home of the *τερόδουλοι* and Pindar's *πολύξεναι νεάνιδες ἀμφίπολοι Πειθοῦς*. The Isthmus was a 'gateway', and the symbolism of gate-money would readily be understood by those who have ever peeped into the Sunday-school literature that has gathered about the Hebrew Daleth. But οὐ πάντος ἀνδρὸς εἰς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς, and in Athens a more abundant entrance is indicated by Menander's successful rival: ἡ θύρα 'στ' ἀνεφγμένη. εἰς ὁβολός· εἰσπήδησον (Philemon 4, 4 M.). The Isthmus was a door. At all events sexual imagery would have spared the world in this case an unnecessary conjecture, and that is something gained; and not only so, but it would have confirmed the *ἴναι* etymology of *Ἰσθμός*, despite the 'digammated' *Ἰσθμός* of the Isthmians.

As I write, the cable brings the news of the death of Robinson Ellis. Not many weeks have passed since he put forth one of his lectures—'nourished' lectures were they all—so that he must have worked on to the end, a lesson to those who need it. To the world at large he was the great editor of Catullus, though he edited so much else. To me he was a sympathetic friend and a generous helper in giving the American Journal of Philology the professional stamp, not yet effaced by the fantasies of *Brief Mention*; and as a manner of memorial I give here a list of what he wrote for the Journal, and another list of the reviews consecrated to his work:

- I 389-401: The Neapolitanus of Propertius.
- II 411-424: On the Fragments of Sophocles.
- III 485: Review of Buecheler's Petronii Satirae et Liber Priapeorum.
- IV 210-211: Coniecturae Babrianae.
- V 1-15; 145-163: On the Elegies of Maximianus.

- VI 285-295: Remarks on Vol. II of Kock's *Comicorum Atticorum* Fragmenta.
- VII 224-227: Corrections in the Text of Parthenius.
 310-324: Phillips Glossary.
 239-243: Review of Plessis' *Études Critiques sur Properce*.
 88-91: Review of Schenkl's *Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica*.
- VIII 1-14: On some Disputed Passages of the *Ciris*.
 399-414: Further Notes on the *Ciris*.
- IX 474: Elegia in Maecenatem, 61, 2.
 362-363: Review of Rubensohn's *Crinagoras*.
 265-273: Enoch of Ascoli's MS of the Elegia in Maecenatem.
- X 159-164: A Contribution to the History of the Transmission of Classical Literature in the Middle Ages, from Oxford MSS.
 208-209: Two Conjectures on the *Dirae* and *Lydia*.
- XI 1-15: The *Dirae* of Valerius Cato.
 137-144: Suggestions on the 3d Vol. of Kock's *Fragmenta Comicorum Atticorum*.
 357: *Ciris*, 470-472.
- XII 348-349: Callim. *Lauacr. Pallad.*, 93-97.
 481-485: *Ad nova fragmenta Antiopes*.
- XIII 343-348: *Ovidiana*.
- XIV 350-361: Suggestions on some epigrams of the 3d Vol. of Didot-Cougny's edition of the *Anthologia Palatina*.
- XV 233-235: Review of Bröring, *Quaestiones Maximianae*.
 469-494: New Suggestions on the *Ciris*.
- XVI 498-506: Review of Herwerden's *Εὐριπίδου Ἑλένη*, and Jerram's *Euripides, Helena*.
- XXI 76-77: Notes on the Recently Discovered Elegy of Poseidippus.
- XXIII 204-206: New Conjectures on Parthenius' *περὶ ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*.
- XXVI 437-440: *Culex*, 367, 8 and *Ciris*, 66.
- XXIX 178-185: Notes and Suggestions on Lefebvre's *Comedies of Menander*.
- Reviews:
- III 86-89: Gildersleeve's Review of Ellis's *P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis*.
 VI 229-230: Warren's review of Ellis's *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.
 IX 359-362: Ashburner's review of Ellis's *Fables of Avianus*.
 XI 93-95: Klapp's review of Ellis's *Catullus*.
 XIII 101-103: Warren's review of Ellis's *Noctes Manilianae sive dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii*.
 XXV 357 ff.: Brief Mention of Ellis's Correspondence of Fronto and Marcus Aurelius.
 XXX 360: Brief Mention of Ellis on Latin.

Long before I knew him personally, I was much stirred by his translation of Catullus in the metres of the original. This was in my own translating days, before I had realized the hopelessness of translation, at least for myself; and I was naturally much interested in comparing my handiwork with his. In 1880, one of my memorable years, I went abroad in the interest of the *Journal*, and for the first time came into personal relations with English classicists; and the early numbers of the *Journal* shew that I had succeeded in enlisting the help of Oxford and Cambridge scholars of mark. Of the classical men whom I met during that summer, Robinson Ellis gave me the most cordial welcome, shewed the deepest interest in my project, and proved to be the most conspicuous and steadfast contributor to the work

that has absorbed so much of my time and energy. After my return we exchanged letters from time to time until of late years, when his eyes failed, and he ceased to send me those marvellous specimens of chirography, which by reason of the minuteness and intricacy of the characters were as perilous to the eyesight of others as his incessant reading of manuscripts had been to his own. A man who could illustrate a Latin commentary by a reference to Brer Rabbit cannot be said to have been out of touch with our times, and yet I have always felt as if I had been privileged to know one of the great scholars of the past, with their bewildering wealth of first-hand knowledge and their immediate vision. His interpretations often seemed to be fanciful, his conjectures too acute to be convincing, but the massiveness and the genuineness of his learning held my critical temper in check; and I shall cherish the memory of his friendship as a precious possession. Two visions of my kind host, my sympathetic correspondent, abide in my chamber of imagery. One as he sat in his rooms poring over a yellow parchment MS. lighted by two candles. No figure more like one of the pictures of those large-limbed scholars of the old days whom he delighted to honour. 'A book-worm, a candle-waster'¹ he would have been called by the wits of the spacious times of great Elizabeth, to which he seemed to belong. The other as he stood in a pouring rain, over against the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, and recited to me pages of Petronius, not contained in the *Cena Trimalchionis* of the *Satyricon*. His last lecture was on the *Amores* of Ovid. Vast, varied, and vivid was his knowledge of those ranges of antique life and literature, and he would not have disdained the association of his name with that of Peter Burmann.

W. A. M.: Cicero says, to be sure, in his hurried letter to his brother Quintus (II 9, 3) that the poem of Lucretius had *ingenium* and *ars*, and Suetonius (p. 38 R.), that Cicero 'emended' it; but if there was anything that Cicero despised it was Epicureanism and all its literary works, and there is no other evidence that he ever read Lucretius or took other contemporary poets seriously. And yet, if he was asked to launch the dead poet's work—a tribute to his good nature and reputation (Pliny, Ep. III 13)—the natural thing for him to do would have been to turn the job over to Tiro, his man of all work. And this I think he did: Tiro put the book together and published it, and the great orator got the credit. This is the only solution that gives me any peace of mind in this much debated matter. Lersch had somewhat the same opinion many years ago (*Röm. Diorthosen* 19).

¹ Comp. Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels* III 2.

CORRESPONDENCE.

REPLY TO PROFESSOR KENT (A. J. P. XXXIV, 315-321).

Sir: If Professor Kent—whose bibliographic zeal and scholarly enthusiasm I highly regard—had conducted his first preliminary studies on Lucilius' I and EI rules (AJP. 32, 272-293) under the good guidance of the concluding sentiment of his second paper neither article could ever have been written. Had he but read to the end the text of Ter. Scaurus (*aetate Hadriani*) to whom we owe the quatrain that has troubled him he would have met a passage—which, with its authenticity of 1800 years, he seems to have overlooked, even after I cited it for him in AJP. 33, 315, § 10—a passage plainly certifying the absolute correctness, *et literatim et punctuatim*, of the quatrain as diplomatically printed by Goetz and Schoell in their Varro (p. 207):

m <e> ille¹ hominum, duo m <e> ilia, item huc E utroque
opus, m <e> il[l]e <s>,
m <e> ilitiam, tenues I: pilam in qua lusimus; pilum,
quo piso, tenues; si plura haec feceris pila,
quae iacimus, addes E, peila¹ ut plenius fiat.

A dozen pages off in Keil (p. 32)—but on the next page in Goetz and Schoell, who attribute the words ultimately to Varro—Scaurus picks up again the "plural rule" and writes:

si autem cum eadem [i]² littera aliud breve aliud longum est, ut illa [et]² pila, apices ibi poni debent, ubi [h]isdem litteris alia atque alia res designatur, ut venit et venit, aret et aret, legit et legit ceteraque his similia; super I tamen litteram apex non ponitur: melius enim I <in> pila in longum producetur.

If language means anything the words *illa pila* in this context refer to the Lucilian quatrain, and objectively certify that Lucilius wrote here not only a *pila* but a *pila(m)*, and *pila(m)* objectively

¹ Varro's charge (AJP. 33, 314) of inconsistency in the application of the plural rule (ib. 313, § 5) applies on the face of things chiefly to the singular, albeit very large plural, *meille*; but probably did include a censure of Lucilius for extending the rule for the plural termination *-ei* to other syllables (*meilia peila*). Keil must have been right in supplying for Varro-Scaurus as follows (7. 18. 12); cum alioqui i non aliud in singulari quam <in plurali neque aliud in media> quam in extrema syllaba sonet, etc.

² The excision of *i* is quite acceptable, but it is more than likely that we should read *illa* <*pila*> *et pila*, to conform to *venit et venit* (better than *venit et venit*) later on.

(i. e. metrically) certifies *i* before it,¹ which certifies in turn that *tenuēs i*¹ refers to *pila(m)*. The phrasing *tenuēs i pila(m)*, etc. is further objectively certified by the chiasmic antithesis of the cola *tenuēs i*¹ *pilam* in *qua lusimus* × *pilum quo piso tenuēs* (type *abc* × *c'(b')a*²; or, if we read *piso* <*I*>¹ *tenuēs*, *c'b'a*). Now the certification of *tenuēs i pila(m)* fixes the reference of *item huc E* to *m<e>iles m<e>litiam* and *item* certifies to *m<e>ille m<e>ilia*. Incidentally, *pila* proves *lusimus*³ and by merely allowing him a characteristically Latin tense usage vindicates for Lucilius a bit of poesy, an allusion to "auld lang syne", that Professor Kent deems queer.

Those who interpret the Lucilian *i/ei* rules as mnemonic can realize in all of his examples the "plural-collective rule" (33, 313, § 10; 315, § 11), and have no occasion to challenge the substantial correctness of the orthographical tradition behind the rules for final syllables. In not following the early epigraphic orthography of *miles* (*mille* not being so determined) Lucilius deviates from the correct tradition; and as Varro, who was doing his spellings at school less than a decade after the probable publication (33, 312) of Lucilius' rules, criticizes him (*supra* fn. 1) for using *ei* in singulars and <in medial as well as> in final syllables—a criticism as applicable to *meiles* and *peilia* as to *meille*—we have no warrant to ascribe to Lucilius any further motive than to arrange mnemonics in terms of the "plural-collective rule". I may again call attention to the probable bearings of the "military rule" (33, 316), which was taking root as early as Vel. Longus (*ap. Marx II* 134).

But a correct tradition of derivation may lie behind Lucilius' grouping of *meiles* with *meille*, for we have no ground for suspecting either the historical correctness or the post-Lucilian origin of Varro's statement (33, 315) that 1000 men per tribe constituted the original legion of 3000. And thence Varro derived *miles* from *mille*. Further cf. Mommsen on the decimal political units of the primitive Roman burgesses (*Hist. of Rome I*, p. 101), and again Mommsen defines *mil-es* as 'tausend-

¹ That a Roman actually engaged in contrasting *i* brevis with *I* longa (i. e. "tall *I*") pronounced and was always bound to pronounce the designation of *I* by the name of *I* were past belief. Moreover, as we actually have the tall *I* on stone as early as 646 a. u. c. (v. Christiansen *de apicibus*, p. 28), only a decade after Lucilius wrote his rules, it was doubtless open to him to write in his text *I* and *I*, and that by a graphic symbolism so obvious that it may be as old as Plautus (see Lindsay *L. L.*, p. 10), even though the stone-cutters left this schoolroom invention so long unused.

² This (*b'*) is the *I* of *pilum* as heard after *i pila(m)*. Cf. Virgil, *G. 1.* 299 *nudus ara* × *sere nudus* (type *ab* × *b'a*), elliptical for (*agros*) *n. a.* × *s. n.* (*agros*) = (*a*)*bc* × *c'b(a)*.

³ Professor Kent actually emended *pilam in qua lusimus* to *pilam in qua pinsimus*, in spite of the express statement of Mar. Victorinus (*ap. Marx II*, p. 134) that Vel. Longus changed *pilum* to *pila* 'concinnitatis causa', so that when Longus writes *pila in qua pinsitur* we really know that he substituted this for Lucilius' own *pilum quo piso* (see 33, 315 fn. 2).

gänger'. The decimal organization of the army is shown by the title of the *centurio* (from *cent[un-t]urio* = 'hundred-ruler', see Fay, Bull. Univ. of Texas, No. 263, p. 43).

May I call attention, at the end, *pro domo mea*, to the corroboration of my claim of genetic relationship between *pilum* 'pestle' and *peila* 'javelins' by Kropatschek's demonstration (ap. AJP. 34, 319²) on archaeological and historical grounds of the same relationship?¹

Ehrlich's claim of pre-Latin *-i* from *-ei* (34, 320) was also staked out by me in 33, 313; and in an essay of March, 1911, (now in type for IF.) I took the position that in pre-Latin *humi* (whence we best explain the *humus* paradigm) *-i* was from *-AI* (in *χαμ-ai*), because it was an iambic word. In an essay of the same period, still unpublished, I maintained that the *-i* of *Brundis(i)i* represented an IE. reduction of *-(Y)EI*. Thus much to establish my entire independence of Ehrlich as regards the final *-i* diphthongs in Latin.

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¹ Lexical development is infinitely rough, infinitely subtle. Thus Eng. *pounds* = 'uses a pestle', but also 'fires a heavy shot'; *rod* = 'shaft of a spear' (Oxf. Dict. s. v. III 8), but also 'small piece of wood <spillikin> used in calculating' (ib. II 6b). Cf. *κόπρον* 'axe, pestle'. The Etruscan *pilum praeferratum* (Blümner, Techn. I. 19), working in a tubular 'mortar', must have been quite javelin-like. As to taking *peila* for the plural of *pilum* we may ponder on Fr. *ciseau* 'chisel': *ciseaux* 'scissors'; or on Eng. *drawers* (plur. tantum): *drawer*.

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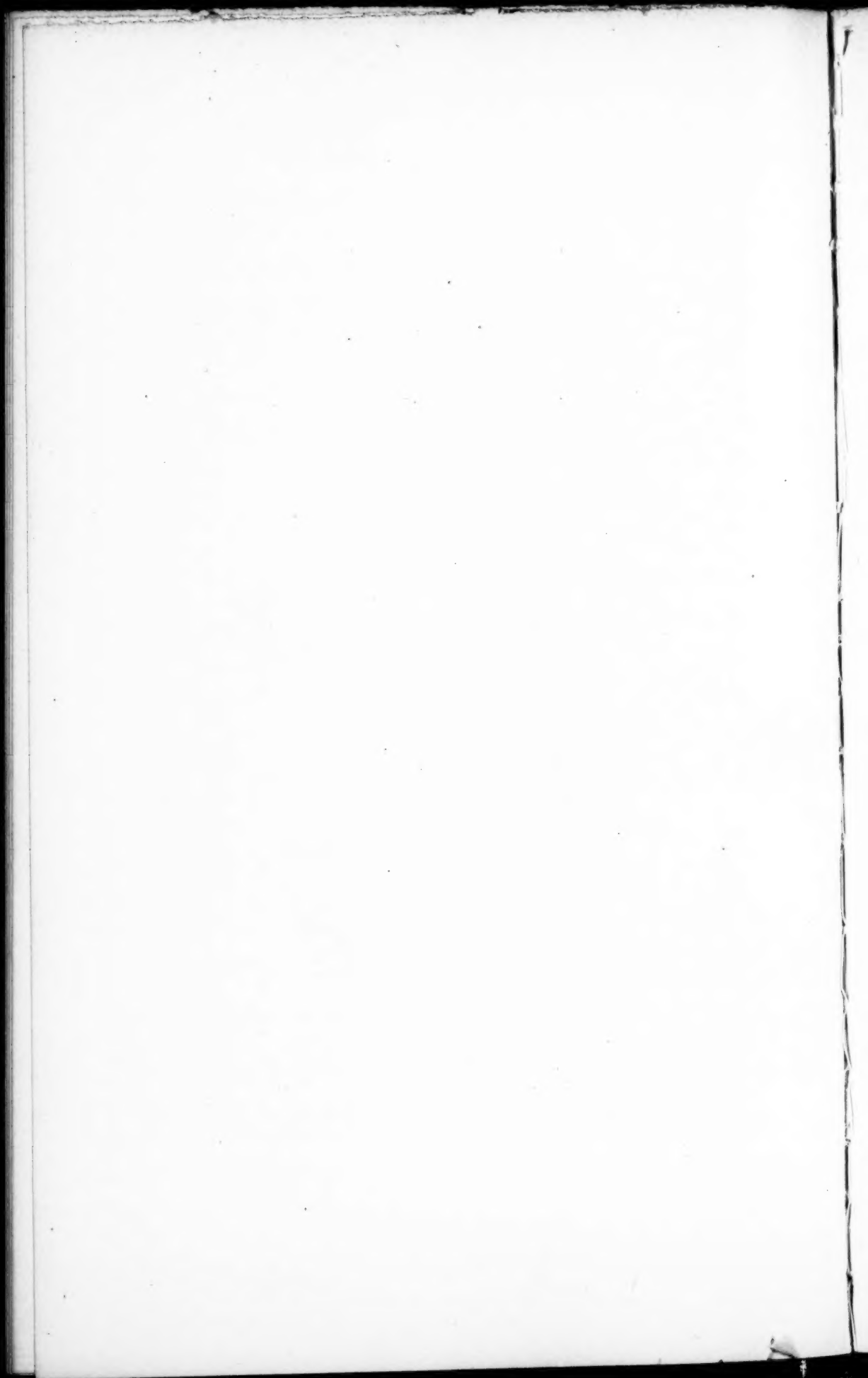
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